DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 458 796 FL 026 945

AUTHOR	Frank, Russell Alan
TITLE	Repositioned Lives: Language, Ethnicity, and Narrative Identity among Chinese-Vietnamese Community College Students in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley.
PUB DATE	2000-00-00
NOTE	421p.; Doctoral Dissertation, University of California-Los Angeles.
PUB TYPE	Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Asian Americans; *Chinese; Community Colleges; Cultural Background; *Cultural Education; Cultural Influences; Ethnic Groups; Immigrants; Limited English Speaking; *Multilingualism; Vietnamese; *Vietnamese People
IDENTIFIERS	*California; Identity Formation

ABSTRACT

Chinese speakers from Vietnam are a distinctive but hidden ethnolinguistic minority group in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. Many variables present barriers to their full participation in society from both the values and norms of dominant American society and non-Chinese co-nationals from Vietnam as well as higher status co-ethnics from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In order to understand how Chinese-Vietnamese community college students form identities and adapt to the social context of the San Gabriel Valley, this dissertation looks at the relationships among language, ethnic identity, and education on 2 levels: the extent of multilingualism among Chinese speakers from Vietnam; and the meanings that Chinese-Vietnamese participants give to multilingualism is recorded through an analysis of narratives elicited through recorded, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Results of the survey suggest that Chinese-Vietnamese participants tend to cluster in areas of higher concentrations of other ethnic Chinese and have a range of Chinese-Vietnamese ethnolinguistic identities related to geographical origin in Vietnam and to the socioeconomic backgrounds of their parents. Some attempt to strengthen their Chinese identities through the acquisition of Cantonese language skills, but the confluence of ethnicity, nationality, and class form barriers resulting in social isolation and an inability to claim coherent identities in social contexts outside the family. Schools in particular are the sites of many conflicts for many participants. This study questions many common assumptions about the relationship between class and ethnicity and points to the need for additional research on marginalized multilingual communities. Seven appendices with demographic and other data are included. (Contains 322 references.) (KFT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 458 796

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Repositioned Lives:
Language, Ethnicity, and Narrative Identity among Chinese-Vietnamese Community College Students in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Russell Alan Frank

2000

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE,
AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC
COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY,
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Russell A. Frank

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

FL 026 945

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

© Copyright by

Russell Alan Frank

2000

The dissertation of Russell Alan Frank is approved.

Don T. Nakanishi

Otto Santa Ana

Val D. Rust, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2000

CONTENTS

Preliminary Pages
- A. List of Figures and Tables v
- B. List of Narrative Texts vi
- C. Acknowledgements vii
- D. Vita ix
- E. Abstract xi

1. Introduction 1
   - A. Background and Research Context 8
   - B. Research Questions 12
   - C. The Research Program 14
   - D. Social Relationships in the Research Context 16
   - E. Significance of the Study 17

2. The Context for Chinese Vietnamese Ethnicity 21
   - A. A Brief History of the Chinese Community in Vietnam 21
   - B. The Refugee Experience 28
   - C. Chinese Transnationalists in the San Gabriel Valley Region of Los Angeles 34
   - D. Asian Migration to the San Gabriel Valley 40
   - E. Barriers to Chinese-Vietnamese Participation in the San Gabriel Valley 44
   - F. Language in the Chinese Ethnoburb 47

3. Language Choice, Ethnic Identity, and Narratives 51
   - A. Acts of identity 52
   - B. Social Networks and Language Use 57
   - C. Cultural Reproduction through Language 67
   - D. Cultural Resistance: Transnational Practices and Language Use 71
   - E. Cultural Models, Social Roles, and Language 73
   - F. Narratives and Narrative Analysis 76

4. Methodology 90
   - A. Researching the Extent of Multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese Community: Linguistic Diversity Surveys 91
   - B. Researching the Meanings of Multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese Community: Interviews and Narrative Analysis 103

5. Who are the Chinese-Vietnamese? Findings from the Language Background Survey 123
   - A. Survey participants born in Vietnam 125
   - B. Chinese Speakers from Vietnam 131
   - C. Chinese-Dominant Speakers 136
   - D. Mixed-Dominant Speakers 142
   - E. Vietnamese-Dominant Speakers 147
   - F. Synthesis of Findings 151

6. Narrative Analysis 155
   - A. Introduction 155
   - B. Narrative Profile #1: Binh 162

C. Narrative Profile #2: Angie ... 192
D. Narrative Profile #3: Sandy ... 224
E. Narrative Profile #4: Maggie ... 264
F. Narrative Profile #5: Hanh ... 293
G. Narrative Profile #6: Nghiep and Khue ... 314
H. Synthesis of Narrative Analysis ... 333

7. Language at the Margins ... 341

8. Appendices ... 361
A. Asian and Pacific Island Students at Pasadena City College: A Report on the PRO-ESL Survey: Executive Summary ... 361
B. Language Background Questionnaire ... 367
C. Written Consent Form ... 369
D. Interview Schedule ... 370
E. Interview Report Form ... 372
F. Percentage of Asian Pacific Americans in Selected Cities in the San Gabriel Valley ... 373
G. Distribution of Chinese in Southern Vietnam by Speech Group ... 374

References ... 375

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Demographic Information for Selected School Districts in the San Gabriel Valley Region 46

Table 5.1 Age at arrival in the U.S. for Participants from Vietnam 127

Table 5.2 Year of arrival in the U.S. for Participants from Vietnam 128

Table 5.3 Top Five Cities of Residence for Participants from Vietnam 129

Table 5.4 Chinese-Speaking Participants by Parents' Occupation in Vietnam 133

Table 5.5 Chinese-Speaking Participants by Parents' Educational Levels 134

Table 5.6 Chinese-Dominant Participants by Languages Spoken 140

Table 5.7 Chinese-Dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages 141

Table 5.8 Mixed-Dominant Participants by Languages Spoken 146

Table 5.9 Mixed-Dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages 147

Table 5.10 Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Languages Spoken 150

Table 5.11 Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages 151

Table 6.1 Demographic Background of Interview Participants 156

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Chinese-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy 138

Figure 2 Chinese-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy 138

Figure 3 Mixed-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy 144

Figure 4 Mixed-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy 144

Figure 5 Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy 149

Figure 6 Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy 149

LIST OF NARRATIVE TEXTS

1. Narrative Profile #1: Binh ... 162
    - Text 1.1 From Vietnam to China ... 163
    - Text 1.2 High school ... 168
    - Text 1.3 Major and career ... 170
    - Text 1.4 "I'm Vietnamese and Chinese" ... 175
    - Text 1.5 No group to join ... 177
    - Text 1.6 A friend's death ... 185
2. Narrative Profile #2: Angie ... 192
    - Text 2.1 Arizona 1: From bad to good ... 193
        - 2.1a Arizona 2 ... 203
    - Text 2.2 Chinese identity: Before and after ... 205
    - Text 2.3 Language shift
        - 2.3a Nuclear family ... 209
        - 2.3b Extended family ... 211
    - Text 2.4 "I speak Cantonese with you." ... 214
        - 2.4a "I don't like pure Vietnamese" ... 218
3. Narrative Profile #3: Sandy ... 224
    - Text 3.1 Learning to speak Vietnamese in the refugee camp ... 225
    - Text 3.2 Language with friends ... 228
    - Text 3.3 "Private" Chinese skills ... 233
    - Text 3.4 "You can't handle too much things" ... 239
    - Text 3.5 To lost or not to lose languages ... 244
        - 3.5a Sandy's sister ... 253
    - Text 3.6 Not many family expectations ... 257
4. Narrative Profile #4: Maggie ... 264
    - Text 4.1 Pressure to conform ... 265
    - Text 4.2 Language learning in Vietnam ... 273
    - Text 4.3 Benefits of knowing languages ... 277
    - Text 4.4 Hidden languages
        - 4.4a Knowing Vietnamese ... 283
        - 4.4b Knowing Cantonese ... 286
    - Text 4.5 Not part of their group ... 288
5. Narrative Profile #5: Hanh ... 293
    - Text 5.1 Two aunts, two ways of adapting ... 294
    - Text 5.2 Not much Chinese ... 298
    - Text 5.3 "I understand their heart" ... 301
    - Text 5.4 Too late for Vietnamese ... 304
    - Text 5.5 They should speak English ... 309
6. Narrative Profile #6: Nghiep and Khue ... 314
    - Text 6.1 Neighbors (Nghiep) ... 315
    - Text 6.2 No Teochew (Nghiep) ... 318
    - Text 6.3 Teochew and Cantonese (Khue) ... 320
    - Text 6.4 Forgetting and mixing languages (Khue) ... 323
    - Text 6.5 Passing on the family language (Nghiep) ... 324

Acknowledgements

The ideas put forward in this dissertation are a part of the process of formation that has been on-going from the time I was born, and I trust shall continue well past the time when dust will have accumulated on top of it. Many special people have contributed to this formation process, and I want to acknowledge their part in shaping me in substantial ways.

I have been deeply influenced by my parents, Robert and Virginia Frank, who helped me to see that the world around me is a much bigger place than the few square miles of green Illinois countryside where I grew up, who taught me the value of honest hard work—though I was slow in learning that lesson—and who have supported through each of the uncertain steps that I have taken along the way.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to those who have mentored me along the way and have helped me to develop more of a coherent relationship between knowledge, belief and practice. In particular, I think of my own brothers and sister Rod, Connie, and Rick Frank, as well as Jeff Osgood, Richard Slimbach, Mark Mullery, Dave Olson, and Daniel Ho. There have been many other friends and students who have deeply supported me and helped me along the way. In particular, many students with whom I've had the privilege of working have taught me that being a teacher is not something that I impart or do; being a teacher flows from what I am.

My understanding of language, culture, and teaching have been shaped by the many excellent teachers that I have had, The list would be too long to include here, but I would like to single out in particular Profesoras Hanger, Valdera Cruz, and Floyd, Herb Purnell, Kitty Purgason, Russ Campbell, Roger Andersen, Wolfgang Klein, Mary McGroarty, Robert Kaplan, and Otto Santa Ana. My own teaching has been challenged and enhanced by my friends and colleagues at Pasadena City College, especially, Rob Lee, Brock Klein, and Valerie de Carvalho. Also, I owe a debt of gratitude to a dear colleague, friend, and supporter, Matt Hunt, who read, commented, and helped shape the ideas presented in this dissertation.

My committee members have each provided invaluable support and needed input along the way. I am deeply indebted to Val Rust for his support and tolerance of my ambling pace, to Don Nakanishi for his insight and direction, and to Otto Santa Ana, who has shown me what a faculty-mentor can be.

Most of all, this work represents the support and love of my family—my wife Clare and my daughters Kirsten and Lauren. They have loved and put up with many late nights, distracted mornings and grumpy afternoons. Consistently, they have showed me that life is more than books and writing. It's about relationships.

VITA

December 2, 1961	Born, Manhattan, Kansas
1985	B.A., Spanish Language and Literature, Secondary Education Credential Program Northern Illinois University DeKalb, Illinois
1985	Award for Academic Excellence Foreign Languages and Literatures Department Northern Illinois University DeKalb, Illinois
1988	M.A., Teaching English as a Second Language University of California, Los Angeles
1988-89	Teacher/ Researcher Chinese Academy of Social Science/UCLA English Language Center Beijing, China
1989-91	International Student Advisor American Language Institute University of Southern California Los Angeles, California
1991-2000	Associate Professor English and Foreign Languages Division Pasadena City College Pasadena, California
1995-97	Advisory Committee Member Academy of Bilingual Pedagogy Alhambra High School Alhambra, California
1998-1999	Grant Co-Manager California Community College Chancellor's Office, Fund for Instructional Improvement Grant #97-0617 ($76,000)

PRESENTATIONS

Frank, Russell A., and Robert D. Lee. March 1999. Teachers learning technology through a learning community. Paper presented at the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Convention, New York, New York.

Frank, Russell A. October 1999. Internet technology for language teachers: balancing access and innovation. Paper presented at the Fourth International Language and Development Conference, Hanoi, Vietnam.

Frank, Russell A. and Robert D. Lee. March 2000. Connecting and building a community of learners. Paper presented at the Higher Education Academic Session, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Convention, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Repositioned Lives:
Language, Ethnicity, and Narrative Identity
among Chinese-Vietnamese Community College Students
in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley

by

Russell Alan Frank

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2000

Professor Val D. Rust, Chair

Chinese speakers from Vietnam are a distinctive but hidden ethnolinguistic minority group in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles, an area transformed by transnational flows of Chinese capital and the influx of immigrants from the Asian Pacific. Because of their lack of economic and social resources in a highly stratified ethnic suburban area, many Chinese-Vietnamese immigrants have been marginalized and face barriers to full participation in the social context from both the values and norms of dominant American society and non-Chinese-speaking co-nationals from Vietnam as well as higher status co-ethnics from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In order to understand how Chinese-Vietnamese community college students form identities and adapt to the social context of the San Gabriel Valley, this dissertation looks at the relationships among language, ethnic identity, and education on two levels. First, the extent of multilingualism among Chinese speakers from Vietnam is assessed by means of a linguitic diversity survey. Second, the meanings that Chinese-Vietnamese participants give to multilingualism is explored through an analysis of narratives elicited through recorded, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Results of the survey suggest that Chinese-Vietnamese participants tend to cluster in areas of higher concentrations of other ethnic Chinese and have a range of Chinese-Vietnamese ethnolinguistic identities related to geographical origin in Vietnam and to the socioeconomic and educational backgrounds of their parents. Additionally, interrupted schooling is a problem among participants, especially those having the strongest Chinese identities. The analyses of Chinese-Vietnamese participants' narratives point to the attempts of some families to reclaim stronger Chinese identities through the acquisition of Cantonese language skills. However, the confluence of ethnicity, nationality, and class form barriers resulting in social isolation and the inability to claim coherent identities in social contexts outside of the family. Schools, in particular, are sites of conflict for many participants. This dissertation calls into question commonly-accepted assumptions about the relationship between class and ethnicity and points to the need for additional research on other marginalized multilingual communities.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Profile #1: Sandy Lam[1]

Sandy Lam is a twenty-two-year-old woman, born in Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City), Vietnam. She came to the U.S. in 1990 when she was fourteen with her parents and six of her ten brothers and sisters. Prior to arriving in the U.S., Sandy and her family spent six months in a refugee camp in the Philippines where they all attended school. Sandy's family was sponsored by a church in New York, so they first settled near the sponsoring organization. However, with the cold of the winter months and the lack of opportunities for her parents to be active outside of the home, Sandy's family decided to relocate about six months after their arrival in the U.S., and they moved to Los Angeles, where her aunt and uncle were living. Because her aunt and uncle had left Vietnam by boat five years earlier than Sandy's family, they were more established financially and were able to help Sandy's family in Los Angeles. Sandy and her family have lived in the Lincoln Heights area of Los Angeles for the last eight years.

In Vietnam, Sandy's ten siblings, parents, and grandparents lived in their own home in District 5 of Ho Chih Minh City (Saigon), an area with a particularly high concentration of ethnic Chinese families and businesses. All of Sandy's grandparents were born in China. Sandy's parents were both born in Vietnam, and they received an elementary school education in Chinese. Sandy's father was a carpenter in Vietnam. Sandy's mother wanted to attend school but her grandfather did not allow it. Instead, she learned to read (and write) Chinese informally through the newspaper. Neither of Sandy's parents knew how to speak Vietnamese.

---

[1] All names in Chapters 1 and 6 have been replaced with pseudonyms. In general, when participants chose to be known by a westernized name, a westernized pseudonym was chosen; when participants preferred to use their Chinese or Vietnamese names, a Chinese or Vietnamese pseudonym was chosen.

Sandy's parents sent her to private classes in Chinese in Vietnam from ages eight to fourteen. Her class met in the home of a teacher, where she learned reading and writing, with instruction in both Cantonese and Mandarin. Sandy remembers that Chinese education in Vietnam placed a strong emphasis on rote learning, and Sandy practiced her written Chinese skills primarily through dictations given by the teacher. She never attended Vietnamese (government) school in Vietnam, and from the time that she lived in Vietnam, Sandy has never considered literacy or fluency in Vietnamese particularly advantageous.

After coming to the U.S., Sandy attended four years of high school in Los Angeles, and since graduation continued her studies at Pasadena City College. Her mother strongly encouraged Sandy, an older brother, and a younger sister to get as much education as possible so that they could get better jobs. But, her brother dropped out of high school. Only Sandy and her younger sister went on to college. Although Sandy wanted to go to a four-year university, her mother suggested that she go to a two-year college first. Her reasoning was that after two years Sandy could decide whether to continue on to a four-year school or to quit and get a job.

Sandy speaks Cantonese with her family. Moreover, popular media, such as karaoke videos in Cantonese, have helped reinforce the status of that language in her family. Her oldest sister knows both Mandarin and Cantonese, but other family members use only Cantonese. Although Sandy's family is from Vietnam, they speak almost no Vietnamese, and Sandy did not learn it until she was in the refugee camp in the Philippines. In high school she often used Vietnamese with her friends, but since going to college, she most frequently uses Cantonese and English with her friends. Only one sister is able to read and write Vietnamese, and she serves as a resource for the family whenever they need documents or information from the newspaper translated into Vietnamese. When Sandy has children, she would like them to know how to speak Cantonese.

Sandy has never really considered what it means be Chinese but from Vietnam. Some of the members of Sandy's immediate family have been rejected as friends by Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong because they were born in Vietnam, but Sandy hasn't had this experience herself. Sometimes other Chinese people have expressed surprise that Sandy can read Chinese. Nevertheless, Sandy wishes that she had been born in the U.S.—even though she believes that would mean not knowing Cantonese—because she feels that her proficiency in English would be better and she would have more opportunities had she been born here.

Profile #2: Pham Ly

Pham Ly is twenty-one years old and has lived in the U.S. for seven years. When Ly, her parents and siblings came to the U.S. in 1992, they joined two brothers and an uncle who had previously come to the U.S. as refugees and had settled in California in 1985. Ly, her parents, and siblings settled in Rosemead, California, where the family has lived since that time.

Ly's family is from Danang, a coastal city in central Vietnam with relatively few Chinese families. Like Sandy Lam, Pham Ly's grandparents were born in China, but Ly's family were from Hainan Island, off the southeastern coast of China. However, because of the relatively small number of Chinese families in the area, as well as pressure from the environing community, Ly's family spoke mostly Vietnamese, both in the home and in the small family-run clothing store, where they had a good business. Neither Ly nor any of her siblings are fluent in Hainanese, the Chinese language of their grandparents. However, two of Ly's older siblings speak Cantonese because they attended illegal Chinese (Cantonese) classes in the home of their teacher in Danang. After her two brothers left for the U.S., and the family decided to emigrate, Ly's mother had all of the remaining children study English. Ly studied English in Vietnam for five years at private language schools before coming to the U.S.

After coming to the U.S., Ly attended San Gabriel High School for four years and then enrolled in Pasadena City College. From the time of her arrival in the U.S., her parents also sent her to Chinese school twice a week, where she learned Mandarin. Her family also began to use much more Cantonese because of the influence of her uncle, her father's older brother, the eldest male relative in the family and the only other relative in the U.S. He had been able to receive much more schooling in Chinese in Vietnam than Ly's father had, and he convinced Ly's family that maintaining the ability to use Chinese was important because they were a Chinese family. As the oldest member of the extended family, his influence was particularly important. As a result, Ly and her family speak both Cantonese and Vietnamese in their home. Also, at social gatherings, such as weddings and Buddhist holidays, Cantonese and Vietnamese are the primary languages used.

All of Ly's friends are from Vietnam, and those closest to her are, like Ly, "Chinese and Vietnamese." Ly feels that she is not "Chinese," only because she was born in Vietnam. She feels a sense of loyalty and obligation to the country of her birth. Nevertheless, Ly values her ability to speak Chinese over her ability to speak

Vietnamese and would prefer that her future children maintain their Chinese cultural roots instead of the relatively strong Vietnamese orientation of Ly and her sister. In addition, she recognizes differences between her family and ethnic Vietnamese families. She points to signs of differences in Chinese and Vietnamese ethnicity in homes—for example, Chinese calligraphy on the walls of Chinese homes versus scenic pictures from Vietnam on the walls of Vietnamese homes—as well as differences in (Buddhist) religious practices. However, Ly also has friends who come from Chinese backgrounds who have given up their Chinese language and cultural orientation to blend in more with the Vietnamese community. In some cases, she notes that this is because one parent is Vietnamese. She feels that those who give up the ability to use Chinese have lost an important part of their identity.

Ly has encountered various kinds of negative reactions from other people because of her language background and identity since coming to the U.S. For example, when applying for jobs in the area, she often faces the requirement of bilingual proficiency, with one of the languages being Cantonese. Consequently, she has been told that she doesn't qualify for some clerical jobs because she is not fluent enough in Cantonese, even though she is fluent in Mandarin. On the other hand, Vietnamese friends have told her that she should not say that she is Chinese and Vietnamese, because she was born in Vietnam and therefore is Vietnamese. Even though Ly recognizes that she is in a way "Vietnamese," she feels it her duty to maintain the linguistic and cultural heritage of her ancestors.

Profile #3: Truong Binh

Truong Binh is a twenty-two-year-old immigrant from China. Binh was born in northern Vietnam, in Hanoi, as were his parents. Binh's family fled to China in 1978, when Binh was three, during the period of conflict between Vietnam and China. The Truong family, including Binh, were in the Chinese province of Guangxi briefly, for processing by the Chinese government, but were relocated to Guangdong province, where Binh grew up. His parents farmed tea in China, and they lived in an area where many other families speaking the *Hakka* language, like the Truongs, also lived.

Before Binh and his family fled from Vietnam overland into China, his sister left Vietnam by boat, and went to Hainan Island in China. From there she went to Hong Kong, where she stayed for some time before relocating to the United States. She settled in Rosemead, California and has lived there since. Binh's brother wanted to follow his sister to the U.S., but the Truong family did not have enough money to pay the boat fee. Even though the boat captain was a cousin of the Truong family, Binh's brother was not able to leave, and so followed the rest of the family. Binh does not know exactly when all of this took place, but he knows that it must have been around the years of 1978 to 1979, when there was a conflict between Vietnam and China.

After coming to the U.S. in 1992, Binh's family lived with the eldest sister, who had been living in Rosemead for more than twelve years. During that time, the sister had also married and had two children. According to Binh, his sister and brother-in-law were very gracious, and they helped Binh's family by providing financial support, helping them get enrolled in schools, and helping them get jobs.

Binh spent his first four years in the U.S. attending San Gabriel High School, from which he graduated in 1996. High school was a very difficult experience for Binh on several levels. On the one hand, Binh felt that he had wasted his first two to three years in high school and learned nothing because of his difficulty with the English language. On the other hand, he had felt isolated and had a difficult time fitting in with his peers, who grouped themselves according to ethnicity and nationality. For example, Binh couldn't speak Vietnamese, so he couldn't fit in with the Vietnamese group. Although he could speak Cantonese, he was not accepted by the Chinese groups—he said that they ignored him when he spoke Chinese—because he had a Vietnamese name and was born in Vietnam. He felt that his peers from Hong Kong—where Cantonese is the main language—treated him in a particularly condescending way, and so he disliked them as a group. As a result, Binh had few friends, and spent most of his time alone.

Since he was in high school, Binh has worked as a busboy in a Chinese restaurant on weekends in order to help his family financially. He thinks that he would like to study engineering at Cal Poly, Pomona (California State Polytechnic University at Pomona). He feels that, as an engineer, he would be able to work alone and would not have to depend on anyone. However, Binh is unsure of his ability to realize his goals because of his weakness in English.

Binh has no memories of Vietnam, and his parents do not talk about it. Binh thinks that this is because life for them was very difficult in Vietnam and because they were forced to leave by the Vietnamese government because they were Chinese. Binh considers China his home, and though he has been living in the U.S. for more than five years, he would still prefer to be back in China. Nevertheless, Binh recognizes that his history is linked to Vietnam, and if people want to be his friend, they need to accept the fact that he was born there.

Background and Research Context

The preceding profiles represent both diverse experiences and unifying themes. The pathways that Sandy, Ly and Binh have taken in their individual journeys are quite different. They were born in different parts of Vietnam, migrated through different countries, and have had numerous other different life experiences. However, all three were born in Vietnam, and they, along with their families have immigrated to the United States. They live in an area that is densely populated by immigrants, a high percentage of whom have come from Asia and trace their heritage either directly or indirectly to China. All are or have been students at Pasadena City College. And all of them would consider themselves Chinese but influenced to varying degrees by their family history in Vietnam.

This dissertation explores the experiences and beliefs of one particular group—ethnic Chinese young adults from Vietnam studying at Pasadena City College—who have immigrated in relatively large numbers to Los Angeles, and with whom I have worked with as an English as a Second Language instructor for the last eight years. As such, this work is grounded in a specific educational, social, and historical setting and in specific sets of social relationships. The two main emphases of this dissertation are: (1) to identify the characteristics of Chinese speakers from Vietnam on the basis of the linguistic and historical factors which define the group as a distinct linguistic minority in the Western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles County, and (2) to analyze narratives about language, ethnic identity, education, and adaptation given by Chinese-Vietnamese participants, with the goal of understanding their process of identity development and relationships in the social and educational context of the Western San Gabriel Valley region. In order to understand the origin and development of these narratives, it will be necessary to broaden the analysis to the Chinese-Vietnamese as a particular immigrant minority in the United States, among other Asian Pacific American minorities.

The observations which led to this dissertation began in the classroom, but the classroom proved an inadequate context for the development of this research. My initial observations of this group were two-fold. First, the Chinese-Vietnamese were generally less successful than other ethnic groupings in the classroom. Second, the Chinese-Vietnamese were generally on the "periphery" of the class, frequently not mixing with other Chinese or Vietnamese students. These anecdotal observations were further confirmed by the findings of a survey which I conducted with another colleague (Frank, 1995a) of 1200 students enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes at Pasadena City College (PCC)[2]. Students born in Vietnam who spoke Cantonese or other Chinese dialects as home languages constituted the largest single grouping (18%) of students in PCC ESL classes. They tended to be young, had been in the U.S for more than five years, and had attended high school in the U.S., mostly at local high schools. Many did most of their formal schooling in the U.S. Nevertheless, the Chinese-Vietnamese tended to have much lower self-reported GPAs than did the general population, and more frequently had unclear academic goals than other Asian Pacific Islander (API) groups.

Perhaps more than any other factor, the socioeconomic status of Chinese-Vietnamese students in ESL classes at PCC distinguished them from other groups studied in Frank (1995a). Most members of this group lived with their nuclear family

---

[2] For comparative data on different Asian sub-groups, see Appendix A.

(84.8%), with four out of five living with their parents, half in a home where their parents did not work outside of the home. Half of the students in this group had jobs (50.2%), and about one out of five worked more than twenty hours per week while attending school. In addition, this group far more than any other group made use of the Extended Opportunity Program and Services (43%)—a family- income-based state assistance program—and a significant number participated in the college work/study program (13.3%). While the survey did not include items which directly measured socioeconomic data, the above findings, combined with the relatively longer period of residence of this group in the U.S., pointed to the relative lack of resources which this community had to promote their educational and economic development, as well as their pattern of reliance on government financial aid programs to support their educations.

In spite of the distinctive characteristics found in the ESL student survey, the ethnic Chinese from Vietnam are a relatively hidden group among PCC ESL students as well as among recent immigrants to the United States. The college has no measure which would allow them to be identified, and similar problems have prevented the Chinese-Vietnamese from being identified in other government measures (Chung, 1988)[3]. The Chinese-Vietnamese cohabit the same geographical space as other Chinese and Vietnamese immigrant groups, in what Li Wei, (1997) has called the Chinese ethnic suburb, or *ethnoburb*, of the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. Additionally, the Chinese-Vietnamese share many cultural features of other Chinese and Vietnamese groups—including language. Similarly, they participate in some of the same institutions—such as schools and temples—and patronize many of the same businesses as other Asian immigrant groups. Nevertheless, as a result of a variety of historical, economic, and political factors, the Chinese-Vietnamese maintain an identity which is distinct from other API groups.

---

[3] For a discussion of criteria for the definition and identification of immigrant minority language groups from a European perspective, see Broeder & Extra (1999).

The Chinese-Vietnamese arrived in the U.S. in large numbers at a time when many Asians in the U.S. were being viewed as members of "a model minority." That is, the Chinese-Vietnamese were commonly viewed as being part of a group that had "successfully assimilated" into the dominant culture of the United States and were improving social status through hard work and education, and who were conforming to the dominant (middle- and upper-class white male) cultural beliefs regarding success and assimilation. Success stories of early (ethnic) Vietnamese refugees further reinforced this stereotype. However, as is discussed in the next chapter, the Chinese-Vietnamese were distinct in both origin and reasons for emigration from other Vietnamese refugees as well as Chinese émigrés from other nations. The Chinese from Vietnam have been confronted with a socially constructed notion of race—in this case 'Asian'—that in many cases negates the differences of ethnicity, language, and class, which distinguish them from other ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. Moreover, as shall be seen, their identity as "Chinese and Vietnamese" has been contested to varying degrees by other groups of ethnic Chinese as well as by ethnic Vietnamese individuals. As is discussed below, the Chinese-Vietnamese have not fit neatly into the stereotype of the "successful, disciplined Asian," and have been marginalized in discussions of immigrant ethnicity, education, and social adaptation. Consequently, one purpose of this dissertation is to serve as a collection of resources that can be used for further study of this group.

The following three chapters of this dissertation lay out the descriptive, theoretical, and analytical frameworks for research into Chinese-Vietnamese identity, beliefs and adaptive processes. In Chapter 2, I outline a number of social and historical factors which have shaped the social and ethnic identity of the Chinese-Vietnamese community. Chapter 3 focuses on the discussion of group identity by examining the relationship between language and ethnicity, in order to explore the importance of beliefs about language and language choice on group identity formation. Chapter 4 presents the methodologies used in defining the characteristics of the Chinese-Vietnamese as a linguistic minority and in analyzing narratives related to language, ethnicity, adaptation, education and other experiences of particular Chinese-Vietnamese youth in the Western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. Moreover, in Chapter 4, the methodologies are discussed in depth in the context of the following five sets of research questions that directed the inquiry in this dissertation:

Research Questions

1. *Who are the Chinese-Vietnamese? What characteristics identify the Chinese-Vietnamese as a distinct multilingual ethnolinguistic immigrant minority group?*

Chinese speakers have historically been a challenging group to define, due to a number of historical political, social, and economic factors. This dissertation first addresses general demographic, and more specific educational and linguistic factors, that help define Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Moreover, narrative profiles related to the participants experiences, attitudes and beliefs related to their perceived ethnic, linguistic, and educational identities are used to discuss issues of self-identification among Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

2. *How do Chinese-Vietnamese youth view the processes of language shift and attrition that they see in their families?*

Among Chinese speakers from Vietnam, Frank (199b) found was a marked, though not always even, shift towards multilingualism, in which English, Cantonese—and sometimes other Chinese dialects—and Vietnamese were used separately in different contexts but are mixed in the context of the family, school and workplace. This dissertation first addresses the question of how Chinese-Vietnamese young adults view the processes of language shift that they view in their families as well as in their own lives.

3. *In what ways do Chinese-Vietnamese youth construct a sense of ethnic identity through language? What meanings do Chinese-Vietnamese youth give to language and multilingualism?*

Language reinforces ethnic and cultural boundaries. Consequently, the question arises as to why many Chinese-Vietnamese families expand their linguistic repertoire, adding not only in English but also other languages, including Cantonese and Vietnamese. How do members of the Chinese-Vietnamese community view these changes? What meanings do they give to them? What do changes in linguistic repertoire show about the development of new ethnic identities? How do Chinese-Vietnamese community members feel that these changes influence their relationships with other groups around them?

4. *What do narratives about language and ethnic identity show about the experiences and beliefs of the Chinese-Vietnamese in adapting socially and economically to the Western San Gabriel Valley region?*

Ethnic and social identities form the basis for many of the self narratives of Chinese speakers form Vietnam. The goal of narrative analysis in this study, then, is to explore the underlying beliefs and motivations of Chinese-Vietnamese youth. Narratives relating to language and ethnicity are bring together a variety of social contexts, roles, and networks in which individuals enact and/or contest particular identities and the beliefs embedded in these socially-constructed identities.

5. *How do beliefs about language and ethnic identity shape the educational experiences and career aspirations of Chinese-Vietnamese youth?*

Many Chinese-Vietnamese families have relocated to the U.S. in part as an investment in the education of younger family members most of the family members. Like other Chinese groups, especially Chinese transnationalists (Ong & Nonini, 1997), the investments of older family members in younger family members represents an attempt through education to reestablish family capital reserves through the development of cultural and educational capital. Consequently, how do younger family members view language and education? Do their beliefs reflect those of other diasporic Chinese families with regards to the deployment of cultural and social capital in the form of degrees and non-English language maintenance or development, for the advancement of the family? Or do they represent minorities who have become localized in their linguistic preferences—increasingly monolingual English speakers—and career aspirations which represent the needs of local economies?

The Research Program

In this dissertation, I have posed two different sorts of research questions related to language, one related to the *extent* of multilingualism among the Chinese-Vietnamese, where language is distinguishing characteristic, and the other the meanings of multilingualism among the Chinese-Vietnamese, as a focal point of identity and a guide to adaptation to the social context of the San Gabriel Valley region. Consequently, I have pursued a mixed research design. First, I have incorporated a descriptive quantitative analysis, consisting of a language diversity survey, discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, to deal with the question of the linguistic and educational demographic characteristics of the group. Second, I have employed a qualitative analysis of narratives, elicited in in-depth, semi-structured interviews, to probe the question of the meanings of language, identity, educational experiences, and multilingualism. As Brewer and Hunter (1989) note, multimethod-research projects are not free from error, but they do allow a researcher to understand a social phenomenon from a more multidimensional perspective. Moreover, I have sought to situate my research on the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the broader historical and social contexts of Vietnam, the refugee and post-refugee immigrant experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese and their relationship to and interaction with other Chinese diasporic communities in the U.S. as well as the Asia Pacific.

In the case of my research into the experiences, practices, and beliefs of Chinese-Vietnamese youth, the use of both quantitative methods and qualitative methods have been employed to address a fundamental problem faced in this dissertation topic. Research on the Chinese-Vietnamese community after 1975 is very limited. Similarly, research on language issues relating to multilingual minority communities—who have distinct but overlapping concerns with bilingual communities—is rare. Finally, research into either multilingualism or the Chinese-Vietnamese as a distinct group in the American educational system is practically non-existent. Consequently, the goal of this dissertation is to present a baseline study on the experiences, narratives, and beliefs of Chinese-Vietnamese youth, and to explore how these experiences, narratives and beliefs influence participation in a particular educational context—Pasadena City College—and career aspirations.

Social Relationships in the Research Context

Research into language beliefs and patterns cannot be divorced from the social and political context of the researcher and other participants. In particular, I enter this research project in a position of social, economic, and political power with relation to the other participants in the research. This relationship will shape the findings of the research. However, an important outcome which I desire from this research project is the empowerment of Chinese-Vietnamese youth to maintain and/or develop language resources. Therefore, in the research program I maintain the perspective of *research on, for and with* (Cameron, et al., 1992). That is, the following values will characterize the research: the use of interactive methods which do not 'dehumanize' research participants; an attempt to address the social and research agendas of research participants; and the development of a feedback process which gives participants the opportunity to understand and make use of expert knowledge.

The factors which allowed me to have access to the Chinese-speaking community from Vietnam was based on both my ascribed status as "teacher"—even though students interviewed were no longer in classes which I taught—and my personal connections with Chinese and Southeast Asian cultures, put the research in a particular social context and sets of relationships, and influenced the outcome. The choice of English as the language used in the interviews also influenced the outcomes in both positive and negative ways, and privileged me as a "native speaker" with respect to interview participants. Yet, while the use of English formed the linguistic context of the interviews, English language learning and English-language identities as topics of conversation or narrative focus were intentionally backgrounded. As Nicholas (1994) contends that the foregrounding of questions of English language proficiency or patterns of English language use undermine research into multilingual communities by implying an underlying agenda other than that of simply describing the community.

Many of the interview participants noted in the context of the interview that it was the first time they had talked with anyone—whether family or friend—about their experiences, even though the themes touched upon in the interviews were of great importance to them. Consequently, while my privileged position and language background have an influence on the study, they also allowed me a level of trust and access that a true "insider" in some cases might not have had.

The mutual creation of the interview context and the trust demonstrated by the interview participants has influenced my writing two ways: First, I recognize that I have a responsibility not to break the trust that has been given to me, and so have strived to remain faithful to the participants' perspectives and emphases, while omitting narratives that participants did not want to be known beyond the context of the interview. Second, I recognize the limitations of this work, but I believe that it serves as a first step which can be developed, informed, and perhaps corrected through a more mature emic ("insider") perspective.

Significance of the Study

Significance for the Chinese-Vietnamese Community

Few studies exist which outline the history or current experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese community, particularly in the context Los Angeles. Therefore, this study will serve as a resource for future researchers by bringing together printed resources and other ideas, facilitating discussion and analysis by community members in particular, but other interested researchers as well. It will also serve as a baseline study which can be contested or confirmed by future researchers.

Following Nonini (1997), this study also serves as a first step in the identification of the Chinese-Vietnamese community as backgrounded participants in the construction of narratives of success in the context of Chinese transnational capitalism, as well as narratives of success among Asian immigrant communities.

Significance for the Educational Context

In the community college setting in which this research was carried out, tacit language policies facilitate the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital by upper class Asian language communities. That is, the offering of Mandarin Chinese and Japanese, which can be taken by native speakers for transfer credit and not other languages such as Cantonese or Vietnamese, privileges the higher status Taiwanese and Japanese community—and the Hong Kong and Indonesian Chinese communities to a lesser degree—and further increases the relative value of the cultural capital of elite groups. Furthermore, lack of data on multilingual communities such as the Chinese-Vietnamese, under the guise of linguistic neutrality and/or integration of linguistic minorities into the "academic mainstream" of English language education, further distances multilingual ethnolinguistic minorities like the Chinese-Vietnamese, making them less able to make use of existing knowledge and experiences in the educational process and less motivated to succeed academically (Edwards 1983; Nicholas, 1994).[4]

This study presents a first step in the recognition of the Chinese-Vietnamese as one example of a multilingual community who have been disempowered through tacit language policies of linguistic integrationism through English. It calls for a reassessment of educational language policies which further privilege higher status non-fluent English speaking Asian groups for whom credit is given for classes taken in their dominant language.

Significance for the Social Context

This study presents an analysis of a minority language community living in a region with one of the highest concentrations of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) on mainland North America. Studies on APA experiences and diversity in the educational context of the Western San Gabriel Valley are sparse[5], as are studies which show interrelationships among APA groups in general in the Los Angeles region. This study contributes to broader discussions of the APA community in Los Angeles and more specifically the interplay of class and ethnicity among interrelated APA communities in the Chinese ethnoburb (Li Wei, 1997; see also Chapter 2) in the Los Angeles region.[6]

---

[4] The effects of these language policies are further exacerbated by the fact that many native speakers of Mandarin and Japanese are also studying at Pasadena City College on student visas. "International students"—i.e., visa-holding students—are also privileged in the sense that they are given more extensive orientation and services than immigrant students for whom English is an additional language, who are not given any specialized support services at the collge.

[5] One example of the treatment of the history of Chinese involvement in one city in this region—Monterey Park, the "first suburban Chinatown" on mainland North America—see Fong (1994)

Academic Significance

This dissertation contributes to the on-going discussion of migration and cultural maintenance among immigrant (and refugee) communities in the U.S. It seeks to inform policy decisions, particularly at the level of the educational institution. And it seeks to highlight the interplay of issues of class and ethnicity in one APA language minority community.

Finally, the notion of "Chinese-ness" is often used as a variable in social science and other research. This dissertation also contributes to a deconstruction of the notion of "Chinese-ness" and a reframing in the context of class relations among Chinese-speaking communities as well as narratives of "success" in transnational communities connected with the Chinese diaspora.

---

[6] For a historical discussion of class divisions among Los Angeles APA communities, see Horton (1995) and Liu and Cheng (1994) For additional discussion of class constraints among APAs in Los Angeles, see Ong and Azores (1994) as well as Espiritu and Ong, (1994).

CHAPTER 2: The Context for Chinese-Vietnamese Ethnicity

The complex multiple identities assumed by the Chinese-Vietnamese cannot be understood apart from the backdrop of the social, historical, and economic forces shaping their experiences. Therefore, in this chapter, I seek to situate the discourses of language, identity, possibility and success in both local and broader sets of historical, social, and economic conditions. To do this, I provide an overview of the major historical events shaping the experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese. From there, I move on to a discussion of the immigrant context of the Western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles, and a discussion of the economic and social factors in the Western San Gabriel Valley which shape the on-going experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese in this current study.

A Brief History of the Chinese Community in Vietnam

The close proximity of Vietnam to China has contributed to a complex interaction between the two nations spanning more than two millennia. The Chinese community in Vietnam has been shaped by centuries of colonization by China; periods of aggression and resistance; political turmoil natural disasters and/or epidemics in China, as well as periods of European influence on the economic and political affairs in both countries. Most recently the two nations have had an uneasy, and at times conflictual, relationship as socialist/communist neighbors who have faced a series of deeply divisive political and geographical disagreements.

Small-scale migration from China to Vietnam began more than 2000 years ago. Periodic peaks of immigration from China into Vietnam resulted alternately from Chinese attempts to subdue and govern Vietnam as well as from refugees fleeing political unrest in China. Prior to the eighteenth century, Chinese residents were allowed permanent residence in Vietnam and were treated equally with Vietnamese citizens provided they assimilated, conformed to Vietnamese customs and traditions, and adopted Vietnamese styles of dress (Tran, 1993).

By the end of the seventeenth century, more concentrated populations of Chinese began to emerge, particularly in the south of Vietnam (*Cochin China*), and the Chinese developed centers of trade and of various forms of crafts. The socio-economic status of these communities also improved rapidly as international trade in the region grew and as European powers began to play an increasingly active role in Vietnam and China. Moreover, the Nguyen rulers of Vietnam allowed growing numbers of Chinese to enter and to prosper in their businesses in exchange for their financial and political support. In addition, these rulers used Chinese merchants in the collection of taxes, promoted their building of boats and ships, allowed them to acquire property, and permitted them to establish economic and political organizations.

Beginning in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, political instability in China and French colonial policies in Vietnam converged to transform the status of the Chinese community in Vietnam. In China, the conflict between the British and the Qing rulers of China over British importation of opium into China, and the subsequent defeat of the Manchu court led to the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing. Under this treaty, Qing Dynasty officials were forced to open five treaty ports to the British and the French. As a result, Qing officials were no longer able to regulate the movements of Chinese nationals into or out of the country. The Treaty of Peking (1860) between the Qing court, Britain and France recognized the rights of Chinese laborers to seek employment outside of China further facilitated the emigration of Chinese workers. Thus, China became a source of labor for developing economies in Southeast Asia (facilitated by the British and the French colonial officials), the U.S., and South America. Political unrest in the form of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1860) and economic instability further added to exodus of Chinese nationals to Southeast Asia.

In a manner similar to the immigration pattern in other Southeast Asian countries, Chinese immigrants to Vietnam came from five main Chinese language groups originating in or around the southern Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Fujian: Cantonese (the main *Yue* dialect from Guangdong province), *Teochew*[1] (also known as *Chaozhou, Chiuchow*, or *Trieuchau*; a *Minnan* dialect from southeastern Fujian province), *Hakka (*or *Kejia,* unrelated to any of the other dialects in Guangdong or Fujian provinces*)*, *Fukkien* (or *Hokkien;* a *Minnan* dialect from southern Fujian province), and *Hainan* (a *Minnan* dialect from the island of Hainan) (see Appendix H). Moreover, these dialect groups were distinct not only in terms of language and social organization but also in terms of economic activity and geographical distribution. The Cantonese, who from the beginning were the largest Chinese subgroup and who comprised more than half of all Chinese from the 1950s onward, were also the most powerful economically. They controlled much of the rice trade, prior to the reunification under the communists, were dominant in the manufacture of metal consumer and household goods, and were also prominent in banking enterprises and rubber processing. The *Teochew* were more active in rice trading and handicrafts, and they often worked as laborers, porters, and petty tradesmen. The *Hakka*, who were more numerous in the North, often worked in handicrafts. The *Fukkien*, whose numbers decreased to less than ten percent of the Chinese-Vietnamese population by the end of World War II, controlled many of the large businesses, factories, and import-export companies (Tran, 1993).

---

[1] In this dissertation, I will provide transcriptions of Chinese terms, as much as possible, in the terms that are used by the people themselves, unless there is a better-known English equivalent, as in the case of Cantonese. My intention is not to privilege one mode of representation over other equally legitimate languages spoken by the diasporic Chinese nor to make a political statement about the official romanizations used in China (Chinese *pinyin*) or Taiwan (generally the Wade-Giles system). The general goal is to facilitate transcription in the narratives contained in Chapter 6.

During the late nineteenth century, the French colonized six provinces in southern Vietnam (*Cochinchina* and *Annam*) and established protectorates in northern Vietnam (*Tongkin*). From the beginning, the French colonial administration sought to regulate the flow of Chinese immigration into the country. In 1874, the administration established a special Immigration Bureau in Saigon to admit Chinese immigrants who belonged to dialect groups already existing in the country, groups which would be able to sponsor the new immigrants. The Chinese, however, enjoyed a special status under the French colonial administration, allowing for steady economic and numerical growth (Marsot, 1993). It is estimated that between 1873 and 1889, the number of Chinese immigrants in Vietnam grew from 44,000 to 56,000, climbing to over 158,000 by 1922. Because of the political situation in China, more than 600,000 immigrants arrived from China between 1923 and 1933. By the end of the French colonial era in the early 1950s, official estimates put the Chinese population at nearly 730,000, or approximately 2 percent of the population. By the end of the Vietnamese civil war in 1975, the actual number may have been closer to one million (Tran, 1993; SarDesai, 1992).

In the early 1950s, the Vietnamese communists defeated the French, and under a 1954 agreement reached in Geneva, Vietnam was temporarily partitioned into a communist north and a capitalist south until national elections could be held to determine a new government. However, soon after the Geneva agreement was sign, a new government was formed in the South under Ngo Dinh Diem and was backed by the U.S. The South quickly moved to establish itself as an independent state, and the agreed-upon elections were never held. As a result, civil war erupted and the U.S. support of the Ngo regime escalated (Takaki, 1989).

For the Chinese, one of the chief effects of the two-decade-long Vietnamese civil war was increased opportunities for business and economic growth resulting from urbanization during the war. Because of the prolonged and disruptive nature of the civil war, the urban populations in both southern and northern portions of the population swelled. The Chinese, who made up seven percent of the population but controlled nearly 80 percent of the business and trade (Takaki, 1989), particularly in the more affluent South, gained capital necessary to increase their economic activities (Thrift & Forbes, 1986; SarDesai, 1992). The economic growth among the Chinese business community heightened the already strained relations between the Chinese and the ethnic Vietnamese populations.

Leaders of the regimes in both the North and the South—the communist regime headed by Ho Chi Minh and the U.S.-backed Ngo Dinh Diem regimes, respectively—deemed it necessary to assimilate the ethnic Chinese in order to promote the process of nationalization. In the South, which was home to nearly 90 percent of the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, the Diem regime attempted to force the Chinese to assimilate by requiring that all residents engaged in commercial activities take out citizenship. Most members of the Chinese community complied, but the Chinese community as a whole continued to maintain separate Chinese schools and a distinctive way of life. In the North, gradual and voluntary citizenship was also the preferred means of assimilating the Chinese population. In order to maintain a peaceful relationship with its large northern neighbor, the Vietnamese Workers Party reached an agreement with the Chinese Communist Party to encourage a more gradual process. As a result, the communist government tolerated a small but active free market, dominated by the Chinese, and it allowed for the continuance of Chinese schools (Duiker, 1989; Tran, 1993).

After the end of the civil war in 1975, and the reunification of northern and southern Vietnam, there was no immediate superficial change in the relationships between the Vietnamese government and the ethnic Chinese community. However, government policies to reform the economic sector of the South were increasingly directed at eliminating the control of the Chinese over the economy. The socialist government had a growing suspicion regarding the loyalties of the ethnic Chinese. In particular, the participation of some ethnic Chinese groups in actively supporting the values of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) with its Maoist ideology, and the economic and political ties of members Chinese community in Vietnam with China further exacerbated relations between the government and the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam (SarDesai, 1992; Duiker, 1989).

To facilitate the socialist restructuring of the Vietnamese economy, the Vietnamese government conducted campaigns against the comprador bourgeoisies, or smaller middleman traders, who were almost all Chinese. Many (Chinese) urban small business owners and workers were relocated to previously undeveloped, rural, New Economic Zones mostly near the Cambodian border, near the fighting between Vietnamese and Cambodian forces (SarDesai, 1992). Other programs designed to nationalize industry and commerce disproportionately affected the economic activities of the Chinese-Vietnamese. As a result, during the years following government economic restrictions, the rate of Chinese participation in economic activity in Ho Chih Minh City (Saigon and Cholon) - which had had the highest concentration of Chinese business activity in the pre-unification years - fell from 70 percent before 1975 to 24 percent in 1988 (Tran, 1993).

At the end of the 1970s, sharp conflicts arose Vietnam and China, and eventually erupted in conflict between the two nations. The increasing control of the Vietnamese government over the economic and cultural activities of the Chinese community in Vietnam was one obvious factor. Another, perhaps more compelling reason, was Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, which was under the brutal Maoist regime of Pol Pot and was backed by Beijing. A third reason for the 1978-1979 border war that erupted between Vietnam and China was the escalating competition between China and the Soviet Union for political hegemony in Southeast Asia (Duiker, 1989; SarDesai, 1992).

Beginning in the summer of 1977 and continuing into 1978, the Chinese government began pressuring Vietnam over their treatment of the ethnic Chinese. The Vietnamese government began to trust the Chinese community in Vietnam less and began monitor, control and restrict Chinese businesses and other Chinese cultural centers. For example, most Chinese schools were closed down as they were viewed as tools of the Chinese government for promoting anti-Vietnamese—and pro-Chinese—ideology and activities.

The Refugee Experience

Sometime between 1977 and 1978, it was determined that the only apparent solution to the problem of the Chinese was a mass exodus, though the exact nature and timing of this determination is greatly disputed (Duiker, 1989). Therefore, a special branch of the public security bureau was set up in Vietnam, indicating the desire of the Vietnamese government to facilitate the exodus of the Chinese community. The Chinese government sent two ships to relocate a limited number of ethnic Chinese émigrés, but the majority found other ways to flee Vietnam. In 1978 alone, between 150,000 and 227,000 ethnic Chinese fled across the border into China and were resettled by the Chinese government in the southern provinces of Yunnan, Guangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong. Those admitted were considered refugees by the Chinese government.[2] However, many of those who were resettled had difficulty in adapting to rural life in China, since they had come from urban centers in Vietnam. As a result, the Chinese government closed the border and the flood of land refugees was temporarily stopped. Eventually, some of those refugee families who had relocated to China—primarily those with family connections—were able to migrate to Macao and Hong Kong, and a number later immigrated to the United States.

By late 1978, a mass exodus of refugees had begun leaving southern Vietnam by boat, bound for the neighboring countries of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand, as well as Hong Kong. Many of those who fled Vietnam died at sea or at the hands of pirates hiding in the islands near Thailand or Indonesia. In addition, those leaving Vietnam were charged exorbitant fees—U.S.$5,000 in gold—which were shared by the government, which gained about four billion U.S. dollars in badly needed capital, and the middlemen who connected the émigrés with the boat owners (SarDesai, 1992; Duiker 1989). From 1975 to 1989 more than one million refugees left Vietnam and were resettled in other parts of the world, with the largest receiving country being the U.S. Moreover, Chung (1988) estimated that at least 40 percent of the wave of 380,000 refugees arriving in the United States between 1978 and 1981 were ethnic Chinese. SarDesai (1992) claims that the ethnic Chinese escaping Vietnam made up 80 percent of all refugees and boat people.

---

[2] The U.S. Center for Refugees states that there were an estimated 281,000 ethnic Chinese refugees from Vietnam who remained in China at the end of 1998. Most arrived in 1978-1979, at the time of the border conflict with Vietnam. China recognized all as refugees, and the the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provided rehabilitation and reintegration assistance (U.S.CR: Country Reports: China, http://www.refugees.org/world/countryrpt/easia_pacific/ china.htm, 07 Sept 1999).

Various groups of refugees left Vietnam throughout the 1980s, and many were resettled in the U.S., the largest receiving country for Southeast Asian refugees, with the assistance of the U.S. government. From 1979 to present, the U.S. Orderly Departure Program (ODP), nearly 500,000 Vietnamese nationals were admitted to the U.S. as refugees and immigrants. Under ODP, nearly 200,000 family members have been reunited in the U.S., and more than 5,000 former U.S. Government employees have been resettled. Beginning in 1988, the U.S. and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) entered into a series of agreements which facilitated the departure of various groups to the U.S.: 85,000Amer-Asian children (children whose fathers were American servicemen who served in the military in Vietnam) and accompanying family members; 165,000 former re-education camp detainees (U.S. Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, July 1998).

Although government resettlement programs sought to disperse refugee populations throughout the U.S., in order to avoid the growth of inassimilable ethnic enclaves. However later policy, recognizing the important role of ethnic communities in the adaptation process, promoted the development of "cluster communities" (Smith-Heffner, 1990). Moreover, other ethnic centers developed naturally though the secondary migration of earlier immigrant arrivals as well as the addition of new immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). For the Chinese-Vietnamese, this has meant that many have relocated to the Los Angeles area—particularly Chinatown Los Angeles, the Western San Gabriel Valley, and Orange County. In part this is due to continued migration of Chinese-Vietnamese families through the sponsorship of family members who were resettled earlier. The large ethnic Chinese population and the smaller, though still significant, Vietnamese population in the Western San Gabriel Valley have also been particularly strong drawing points. Moreover, the desire to live in a more moderate climate, as well as in a part of the country connected more closely with the Asian Pacific Rim (especially with Vietnam and China) have contributed to the pattern of secondary migration affecting the Western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles.

Chinese-Vietnamese refugees, like the ethnic Vietnamese, arriving in the late 1970s through the 1980s, initially came as refugees and were largely unable to transfer capital assets from Vietnam. In addition, Vietnamese government policies resulted in the loss of both property and business for many who stayed in Vietnam. As a result, many of the Chinese-Vietnamese arrived in the U.S. with few marketable labor skills, and without the capital or knowledge necessary to open the kind of small and medium-sized businesses that had sustained them in Vietnam.

Ethnic Chinese refugees from Vietnam were distinct from the ethnic Vietnamese in a number of ways. Chinese refugees were generally more likely to have had an advantage with regards to acculturation and economic self-sufficiency variables (Desbarats, 1986). Le (1993) notes that in regional studies of refugee groups in the U.S. (Aames, et al., 1977; Caplan, Whitmore & Bui, 1985; Rumbaut, 1985; Rumbaut & Weeks, 1986; Haines, 1989; Le, 1993), the ethnic Chinese also displayed the following characteristics as compared to the ethnic Vietnamese:

- Much lower rates of English proficiency (Caplan, et al., 1985; Aames, et al., 1977);
- Much higher rate of illiteracy in native language (Rumbaut, 1985; Rumbaut & Weeks, 1986);
- Fewer years of education in Vietnam (Aames, 1977);
- Twice as likely to have engaged in sales related occupations in Vietnam; more than twice as likely to have had a blue collar job in Vietnam (Haines, 1989);
- Much less likely to have had a white collar job or have been in the military (Haines, 1989).

In one analysis of data related to economic and cultural adaptation to the U.S., Desbarats (1986) found that in spite of the seeming advantages in economic and cultural resources prior to arrival in the U.S., the Chinese-Vietnamese lagged significantly behind the ethnic Vietnamese in cultural, educational, and economic indicators of adjustment. In fact, Desbarats found that the single-most important variable in explaining differences in adjustment to the U.S. was ethnicity. As a result, she called for ethnographic research into the causes for differences in adaption based on ethnicity.

As the Chinese-Vietnamese community has become more established economically in the U.S., and more specifically in Southern California, they have demonstrated a bifurcated pattern of participation in the economy. Steven J. Gold (1994), looking at the economic situation of Chinese-Vietnamese community in the Los

Angeles and Orange County region of California, notes that while some Chinese-Vietnamese seem to have integrated into the broader social and economic fabric of the San Gabriel Valley Chinese community, others clearly have not. Gold maintains that the Chinese-Vietnamese community is paradoxical in that some of the group have established an important niche for themselves in the local economy, utilizing access to overseas Chinese capital—especially from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore—to open retail businesses such as grocery stores and to engage in import-export businesses. Yet, many of those who have been able to establish themselves in business are dependent upon immigrant communities for both clients—mainly Chinese and/or Vietnamese—and laborers—sometimes co-nationals from Vietnam or, more commonly, Mexican/Latino. This, combined with slim profit margins and lack of trained, knowledgeable personnel, makes Chinese-Vietnamese businesses especially vulnerable to economic downturns and causes challenges for sustained growth. Moreover, approximately 29 percent of the ethnic Chinese from Vietnam in Southern California remain "poverty-stricken, welfare-dependent refugees." In short, Gold argues that while some members of the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the Los Angeles area have been able to establish themselves economically, many members of this group face unstable and uncertain economic futures.

The Chinese-Vietnamese have established a presence in the Los Angeles and Orange County region more than in any other part of the country. In particular, Chinatown Los Angeles, the Western San Gabriel Valley region, just east of downtown Los Angeles, and Westminster ("Little Saigon") have been centers of Chinese-Vietnamese economic activity (Gold, 1994). Of these three centers, the Western San Gabriel Valley region is notable for a number of reasons. Sustained immigration from

Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, Vietnam, and other parts of Asia have resulted in the development of the Chinese ethnic suburb, or *ethnoburb* (Li, 1999), discussed more fully below. From 1980 to 1990, at least 10 cities in the San Gabriel Valley region experienced from 75 percent to more than 500 percent growth in the number of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs). In two of the cities—Monterey Park and Alhambra—APAs were the largest ethnic grouping. Moreover, in one city, Monterey Park, APAs made up more than half of the population. These rapidly changing demographics have forced immigrant (and non-immigrant) groups to live together in new ways, resulting in dynamic new patterns of social and economic relationships. The attempts of these groups to establish themselves and/or attain at least the status that they had in their countries of origin have significant implications for the Chinese-Vietnamese community.

As a consequence of rapidly shifting demographic patterns, the growth of the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the Western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles can only be understood in the broader context of the growth and evolution of the Chinese community in the region. The factors involved in this growth are closely related to a variety of historical events and relationships, the rapid economic expansion in nations on the Asia Pacific—most notably Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore—and the development of what Ong and Nonini (1997) call *Chinese transnationalism*. The following section examines implications of the Chinese-Vietnamese fitting into the bifurcated pattern of Asian immigration to Los Angeles (Liu & Cheng, 1994) that developed following immigration reform in the U.S. in 1965.

Chinese Transnationalists in the San Gabriel Valley Region of Los Angeles

Much like the Chinese in Vietnam, Chinese in other parts of Southeast Asia, as well as Hong Kong and Taiwan, underwent major shifts in economic and cultural activities after World War II. Prior to WWII, natural disasters, famine, and conflict—both internal and external—led to shifts in the population of China and population flows out of port cities in Southern China. Many Chinese were recruited by family/clan/kin organizations and were introduced into economic activities specific to the clan or language group. As discussed above with reference to the Chinese in Vietnam, Chinese economic activities throughout Southeast Asia were differentiated according to Chinese language group, clan, village of origin, and/or surname.

Because of limited access to the traditional occupations of the indigenous peoples in the regions where they settled, most of the Chinese in Southeast Asia settled in urban areas and were established in middleman occupations. Trade and business were traditionally considered relatively low status jobs in Confucian China. However, because of the physical distance from China and the lack of other means of economic development, trade and business became important occupations for Chinese men in Southeast Asia (Lim, 1983).

Trade and business relied heavily on clan- or language-based social networks, so upwardly mobile Chinese migrants formed networks based on these relationships to and gained access to credit, information and business contacts to establish their own businesses, especially in trade. The superior access of the Chinese to capital and credit resulted in Chinese dominance in trade and business in almost every urban center in Southeast Asia (Barton, 1983). However, as local economies were modernized, they shifted from being clan-, family- and language-based networks, as these decreased in importance, while social class emerged as a more important factor shaping access to economic opportunities (Lim, 1983; Nonini, 1997).

Prior to World War II, the development of trade and business in Southeast Asia and China was dramatically influenced by the presence of European colonial powers—primarily England, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. With the notable exception of Thailand, almost all of Southeast Asia was colonized by Europe. As a result, the European powers began to integrate local economies into the global economic network. In Southeast Asian countries, the Chinese were often clustered in urban areas, and functioned increasingly as middlemen traders and laborers in newly-developed industries.[3]

The period after World War II saw a rapid internationalization of trade as well as the rise of increasing ideological conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—and later, China—for political hegemony in the region. The promotion of U.S.-dominated global trade and the U.S.-Soviet Union conflict had significant implications for economic and political developments in the region in general, and particularly among the Chinese in East and Southeast Asia.

---

[3] For example, during the U.S. Civil War, the decision of the northern army to use tin for food storage led to an increased demand for tin. To meet this demand, Chinese workers were brought to Malaysia by the British and by Chinese mine owners to expand existing tin operations to increase the supply of tin to meet the demand. Similarly, the introduction of mass production of automobiles in the U.S. by Henry Ford led to an increased demand for rubber. In order to meet this need, workers were brought to Malaysia to increase its rubber output to meet the demand. Thus, changes in the world economy had profound implications for the economic development and racial balance in one Southeast Asian nation (Murray Hiebert, "Tin Cans and Tyres", Far Eastern Economic Review, April 15, 1999, available at: http://www.feer.com/9904_15/p62tin.html). Similar patterns of economic development can be observed in other Southeast Asian nations, and the U.S.—where thousands of Chinese laborers were brought in to help build the railroads in the Western U.S.

In the post-war period, ties between the colonial powers of Britain and France with Asian countries — notably China, Vietnam, India, Singapore, and Malaysia (the latter two were then part of the Malayan Federation) — were weakened due to the extended Japanese occupation and the debilitated state of Europe in the post-war era. At the same time, the United States emerged from the war as a clear political and economic leader in the Asian Pacific. The U.S. played a major role in ending the Japanese occupation of China, Korea, and Taiwan, and it activily supported the economic and political reconstruction of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. In addition, during the decades following the war, American investments and the rise in multinational business interests began to reshape the economies of the British colonies of Hong Kong and India.

At the same time, the United States also entered a period of ideological struggle and direct conflict with the Soviet Union for political hegemony in the region. The two nations supported civil wars in China, Korea, and Vietnam, which resulted in these nations being split into communist and capitalist regions. Unlike China and Korea, whose divisions have been more enduring, Vietnam was reunited under the communist regime after 20 years of civil war. The political and economic turmoil caused in these nations dislocated many people, who served as a pool of potential immigrants to the United States in later years (Liu & Cheng, 1994). Common people fleeing from both the turmoil and the consequent restructuring of society under communist leadership sought refuge. Others, having observed the lifestyle of American soldiers in Korea and Vietnam in particular, adopted a favorable view toward American values, which predisposed them to immigrate later on. Moreover, the political and economic elite, fleeing persecution by the new regimes, both communist and capitalist, found the U.S. a natural destination for resettlement.

In order to strengthen ties with the capitalistic governments in Asia, the U.S. sent large amounts of aid to rebuild the economic power of Japan as well as to promote economic development in South Korea and Taiwan, and later Vietnam[4]. The governments of these countries were able to divert part of this aid in order to put down political dissent and put in place austerity measures. At the same time, South Korea and Taiwan concentrated on the development of manufacturing industries, and thus promote the rapid development of these economies. The U.S. became the major market for goods produced in Taiwan and South Korea, as well as in Japan, thus further promoting the development of export-oriented economies in these nations.[5]

In addition to promoting economic ties with Taiwan, the U.S. also invested in the educational systems of Taiwan, and through USAID, the Peace Corps, and other means, provided support to educational development in other Asian nations, as well. U.S. educational assistance promoted ideologies of democracy and modernization which were based on the belief that by following the path of industrial development in the West these countries could attain the standard of living enjoyed in the United States and Europe (and later in Japan). American educational assistance also promoted the development of an educated elite who would form an intellectual bridge between the

---

[4] The Philippines was also one of the major recipients of American aid, but due to its colonial history with the United States followed a somewhat different path of development than other Asian nations.

[5] Liu and Cheng (1994) have noted that U.S. development funding and investment were significant in the development of Japan and Korea. However, since the scope of the current discussion is to examine the effects of Chinese immigration on Los Angeles, a primary emphasis will be placed on U.S. involvement in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and Southeast Asia.

United States and Asia, facilitating the exchange of technology, ideas, goods and people. According to this conception of education, the intellectual elite would also be the ones groomed to lead in the development of the economic, political and social infrastructure in these nations.

Rapid economic development in Taiwan and Hong Kong, which also developed into one of the major export economies in Asia under the British, led to the emergence of a sizable middle class that viewed education as the primary means of social advancement. The emphasis on education was further supported by traditional (Chinese) Confucian beliefs, which place a high value on education. As a result, the demand for positions in the tertiary education system increased rapidly. Universities over-saturated the workforces in these countries with highly trained professionals. At the same time, changes in the structure of American labor as well as the rapid development of the American tertiary educational system encouraged the absorption of Asian professionals and students into the American-based transnational corporations and into American institutions of higher education. The result of this cluster of factors was an education and mobile professional/technical/managerial class which was oriented toward American business and labor values and practices. This professional class formed another large pool of potential immigrants to the U.S.

On the other hand, Ong and Nonini (1997; see also Ong, 1993) have argued for an understanding of Chinese transnationalism—that is new Chinese subjectivities found in the global arena as a result of capitalist beliefs and practices among the Chinese diaspora in the curren period of late capitalism. These alternative subjectivities are also known as third cultures (Featherstone, 1990; Ong & Nonini, 1997). Ong and Nonini (1997:11) contend:

> …third cultures arise when groups face problems of intercultural communication at first hand and confront the necessity of continually moving to and fro between different cultures, each to some extent spatially defined.

From this perspective, Chinese transnationalists from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia have developed a belief in flexible citizenship which has enabled them to resist control by indigenous governments in Southeast Asia as well as political uncertainty and repression elsewhere and at the same time to engage in economic activities which span national borders. For these Chinese transnationalists, one aspect of this flexible citizenship has to do with a pattern of sending younger family members to an English-speaking country. The younger family member is usually encouraged by older family members—usually males, who are dominant in familistic regimes of power-knowledge—to convert economic capital into social and academic capital, which can either result in the younger family member's getting a job and establishing a family foothold in the new country, or at least giving the family business increased access to international business through the credentials and language skills acquired by the younger generation (Nonini, 1997). Chinese transnationalists thus play off their ethnic identities to attain the benefits of citizenry in English-speaking countries without coming under the control of local or national regimes of power- knowledge (Foucault, 1978, 1980, 1991; Ong, 1993).

Although many Asian immigrants have come from professional classes, another large group have entered the United States with limited or no skills. Liu and Cheng (1994: 90) note that from 1965 to 1989, the number of semi-skilled Asian immigrants from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, and India comprised 13.3 percent of all Asian immigrants, while potential unskilled workers made up 46.5 percent. By way of comparison, unskilled and semi-skilled Asian immigrants constituted as much as 20 percent of all immigrants to the U.S. For example, the continued immigration of Chinese-Vietnamese family members has augmented the numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the Western San Gabriel Valley.

The increasing involvement of the United States in the economic and political context of Asia, and the increasing role of American capital in Asia served to highlight the racist immigration policies, which eliminated nearly all immigration from Asia and Latin America. These were policies that the U.S. had maintained since the 1870s. Gradual openness toward Asian immigration was first evident in the 1950s, but it culminated in immigration reform in the mid-1960s. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law an immigration reform package which essentially eliminated racially biased immigration quotas for Asian and Latin American nations. Between 1970 and 1990, nearly 11 million immigrants entered the U.S., largely from Asia and Latin America. In fact, according to INS figures, the ten largest immigrant groups between 1981 and 1996 were all from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean region.

Asian Migration to the San Gabriel Valley Region of Los Angeles

Since the immigration reforms of the 1960s, immigrants from various parts of Asia and the Pacific Islands have formed the fastest growing ethnic grouping, more than doubling the Asian and Pacific Island (API) population in the U.S. from 1.5 million in 1970 census, to 3.7 million in 1980, and more than doubling again a decade later to 7.9 million.

California has been impacted more than any other part of the U.S. More than 40 percent of the API population in the U.S. resides in California, In 1990, the 2.9 million APIs in California comprised more than 10 percent of the state population. While large numbers of Asian immigrants have expanded the Asian communities in the San Francisco-Oakland area as well as various cities in central California, the Asian population in the Los Angeles metropolitan region has rapidly grown with the result that Los Angeles now contains the largest Asian population of any city in the continental United States. Moreover, Los Angeles is now the entry point into American society for a large number of Asian immigrants.

In the western San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles County, immigration from the Asian Pacific region has caused dramatic demographic changes over the last two decades. In two of the cities in the region, Asian Pacific Americans now constitute the largest ethnic grouping (Monterey Park and Alhambra), and a number of other communities have undergone similar demographic transformation (see Appendix G and H). The demography of this region clearly reflects the 108 percent growth between 1980 and 1990 in the number of Asian Pacific American in the United States. In particular, this region has been impacted by Chinese immigration form the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. It is also one of the most popular destinations from Vietnamese immigrants.

The focal point of the new Chinese immigrant communities in the Western San Gabriel Valley has been the city of Monterey Park, which has received widespread attention for its controversial emergence as the "first suburban Chinatown." Fong (1994) suggests that the trend of Chinese immigrants' settling in a suburban area is a marked difference from the more traditional pattern of Chinatown settlement and development. Monterey Park serves as a financial and business center for Chinese capital. It serves as an anchoring point for the Chinese community that is spread throughout the region, especially in the neighboring cities of Alhambra, San Marino, Arcadia, San Gabriel, Rosemead, Temple City, Hacienda Heights, and so on (see Appendices G and H).

Li Wei (1997, 1999, 2000) has argued that the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles has developed into a Chinese *ethnoburb*, that is a new type of suburban ethnic concentration area which shares many of the features of ethnic enclaves and suburbs but is distinct from each in several ways. In other words, Li argues that the San Gabriel Valley Chinese community, with its focus in the city of Monterey Park, is more than just a suburban version of Chinatown Los Angeles; it has different social and economic structures. Li (2000) defines an *ethnoburb* as an open system tied by information exchange, business connections, and social connections with mainstream society, as contrasted with enclaves and ghettos, which are isolated ethnic communities. The Chinese *ethnoburb* in the San Gabriel Valley, Li (2000) argues, has been shaped by globalized flows of capital and "international flows of commodities, skilled labor, high technology and managerial personnel." The San Gabriel Valley Chinese *ethnoburb* is the result of a deliberate creation by the Chinese community to "maximize ethnic personal and social network as well as business connection." The Chinese in the San Gabriel Valley *ethnoburb* are spread across multiple municipalities and unincorporated areas, rather than just a few densely populated blocks, as in Chinatown, Los Angeles. Third, the Chinese *ethnoburb* in the San Gabriel Valley is characterized by a polarization of occupational structure and socio-economic status to a much greater degree than Chinatown. Finally, Chinese people in the San Gabriel Valley have much more contact and interaction with other ethnic groups than do the Chinese living in Chinatown. As a result residents in the Chinese *ethnoburb* participate more in political and social activities in the broader social sphere. However the can emphasize group solidarity, in spite of class and other differences in the face of a challenge to the group.

Because the Chinese *ethnoburb* is not highly dense, and the Chinese living in the region represent the Chinese are forced to interact with residents from other ethnic and socio-economic groups as well as other ethnic Chinese from differing class and nationality backgrounds. Horton, et al. (1995; see also Gold's 1999 review) analyzed the development of community alliances, conflicts and other key social changes in Monterey Park, the focal point of the Chinese *ethnoburb*, based on data collected from 1988 to 1994. Paying special attention to ethnicity, they noted that:

> in a changing community, ethnicity was something to be explained, not taken for granted, its meanings, boundaries, and political significance shifting with the economic and demographic changes that had fundamentally internationalized the local setting (p. 7).

The historical pattern of development of Monterey Park was such that no one ethnic group formed a majority. Therefore, political candidates and other community leaders were forced to form alliances that crossed ethnic and/or class boundaries. The result was a high degree of cultural interchange, characterized by "fluid" ethnic identities which could either create or remove barriers to cooperation in the community.

According to Horton, et al.:

> Our findings point to the fluidity of American and ethnic identities constructed at the porous borders between residents on the basis of situationally-defined political and class interests. Ethnicity is not traditional or primordial nor is it a voluntary construction…. The issue is how it counts and how it is constructed as means of empowerment, whether it facilitates connections, alliances, and community or sets up barriers (p. 234).

While in cities like Monterey Park, there are contexts which lead to interaction and cooperation, the barriers class barriers *between* the cities in the San Gabriel Valley are much greater than the barriers *within* each city. Li's comments on the distinctions between class and ethnic group are born out by casual observation. The San Gabriel Valley region is a marked distinction between the class structure of the cities of San Marino and Arcadia, which consist of higher percentages of members of the business and professional classes, along with certain regions of San Gabriel, Temple City, and South Pasadena, in contrast with the neighboring cities of Alhambra, southern San Gabriel, and Rosemead, which consist primarily of members of the working classes. Correspondingly, the APA community is stratified with the business and professional classes having higher representations of Taiwanese Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese and, to a lesser extent, other Southeast Asian Chinese (e.g., Indonesian Chinese). In contrast, lower middle and lower working class neighborhoods have higher concentrations of Vietnamese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Mainland Chinese, and, to a much lesser extent, Hong Kong Chinese.

Barriers to Chinese-Vietnamese Participation in the Western San Gabriel Valley

The Chinese-Vietnamese face a number of factors which pose significant challenges to their economic position and possibilities of development in the Chinese *ethnoburb* of the San Gabriel Valley. The class distinctions noted by Li (2000), Horton, et al (1995), and Liu and Cheng (1994) can be clearly seen in the educational settings into which the Chinese-Vietnamese are socialized. Furthermore, the uncertain economic resources discussed by Gold (1994) combined with their unique relationship to the state because of the refugee experience are further risk factors in the economic future of the community. The marginalization as experienced by Chinese-Vietnamese youth, and the challenges to aspects of their ethnic identity by both co-ethnics and co-nationals (Frank, 1995a; see also the narratives discussed in Chapter 6), create further barriers to full participation in the social setting. These factors are integrated below to frame a discussion of the role of beliefs about language and multilingualism to the development of the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the San Gabriel Valley. The topic of language practices and beliefs and their relationship to ethnic identity are then explored more in-depth in Chapter 3.

All of the Chinese-Vietnamese participants in this dissertation research live in lower-middle/working class neighborhoods in Rosemead, Alhambra, Monterey Park, San Gabriel, and Los Angeles. Most of the participants attended some or all of their high school in the Western San Gabriel Valley, and those who did not have close family members who are either in school, or have graduated from local schools. The school districts in the Western San Gabriel Valley are a clear reflection of the stratified environment in which the Chinese-Vietnamese live. The median incomes for the school districts from which the Chinese-Vietnamese came average approximately $31,000 per year. (See Table 2.1.) In contrast, nearly all of the Taiwanese Chinese who attended the same classes as the Chinese-Vietnamese came from school districts where the median income ranged from just under $50,000 per year to over $90,000 per year.

Another contrast in the populations has to do with ethnic makeup of the communities in which the Chinese-Vietnamese live. All of the communities in which the Chinese-Vietnamese live are majority non-white Hispanics and Asians. For example, in the areas served by Alhambra, Rosemead, and Garvey Elementary Schools, Asians and Non-white Hispanics make up from 75 percent to 90 percent of the total population. In contrast, in the Arcadia, San Marino, South Pasadena, and Temple City Unified School Districts, Non-Hispanic Whites make up over 60 percent of the population, with Asians the only other sizable minority group.

Table 2.1 Demographic Information for Selected School Districts in the San Gabriel Valley Region

School / District (zip code)	Population	% Asian	% Hispanic	% Non-Hispanic White	% African-American	Median Household Income	Households	% Receiving Gov't Assistance	% Below poverty line
Alhambra City High (91802)	209,896	40.7%	36.0%	21.6%	1.1%	$31,569	70,654	13.2%	16.5%
Alhambra Elementary (91802)	115,673	45.1	32.5	20.8	0.2	$31,732	41,380	12.2	15.6
Arcadia Unified (91006)	50,387	23.7	9.2	65.7	0.2	$48,068	19,911	3.7	5.1
El Monte City School District (91731)	77,111	12.8	62.1	23.7	0.6	$30,859	21,517	5.9	18.8
Garvey Elementary (Rosemead, 91770)	53,078	42.1	48.7	9.8	0.3	$27,879	14,352	20.6	21.1
Rosemead Elementary (91770)	24,240	30.8	43.9	24.2	0.6	$31,529	7,314	13.4	16.7
San Gabriel Elementary (91776)	41,251	27.1	31.9	38.9	1.4	$35,756	14,960	8.4	12.8
San Marino Unified (91108)	14,683	32.8	4.9	61.4	0.3	$90,641	5,101	2.0	3.9
South Pasadena Unified (91030)	23,936	21.1	13.1	62.3	2.7	$43,043	10,719	3.3	5.0
Temple City Unified (91780)	26,760	19.6	16.5	62.8	0.7	$37,714	10,697	3.8	5.6

Source: California Department of Education, Demographics Office (1996)

Given the differences in class and ethnic composition found in the different school districts and municipalities in the Western San Gabriel Valley region, the nature of interaction, alliances and barriers to cooperation will be different. That is, the dynamics of conflict and coalition building discussed by Horton, et al. for Monterey Park are somewhat different than those of Rosemead or San Gabriel because of differences in class structure, ethnic composition, and historical development of these cities. The school districts and municipalities in which the majority of the Chinese-Vietnamese participants in this study live have lower incomes, and have much higher percentages of Hispanic minorities, many of whom also came as immigrants, as contrasted with the majority of Taiwanese who live in wealthier neighborhoods with higher percentages of Whites. The percentages of students below the poverty line and/or students receiving some sort of government assistance are also distinctly different. While cities like Rosemead and El Monte may be classified as suburban, they share many similarities with other poor urban neighborhoods. In other words, reflect the powerlessness that often accompanies poverty.

Language in the Chinese Ethnoburb

Language is important to a discussion of the adaptive context and processes of the Chinese-Vietnamese in several ways. First, as is discussed in the following chapter, language is not an inherent aspect of ethnicity, but it does serve to reinforce group boundaries. This is especially true in the context of the Chinese *ethnoburb*, where co-ethnicity can provide access to capital to start businesses or to form business alliances. The development of spoken ability in a Chinese language—or more specifically Mandarin or Cantonese, for reasons to be discussed below—signals both a desire on the part of the Chinese-Vietnamese to maintain a connection to their ethnic heritage, as well as a voluntary connection to the transnational activities of their co-ethnics from Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, English is both the official language in the educational context, and it is supported by a dominant belief in linguistic restrictionism toward other languages (see, for example, Sonntag & Pool, 1987). The loss within one or two generations of heritage languages is considered natural and desirable by the dominant society. Therefore, language attrition is a sign of increased participation in, and therefore control by, dominant society. Finally, maintenance—or, in some cases, development—of Vietnamese language skills points not only to the maintenance of national identity but to a desire to maintain good social relations with co-nationals from Vietnam.

In the Chinese *ethnoburb*, both Mandarin and Cantonese are important Chinese languages for somewhat differing reasons. Mandarin enjoys a special position as the official language of both Taiwan and China. It is also the de facto official language of Chinese education in the U.S. In the vast majority of Chinese schools in the San Gabriel Valley, which offer after school and weekend programs, Mandarin is the language of instruction. In prestigious Chinese schools in upper-class neighborhoods, such as San Marino Chinese School or Arcadia Chinese School, close relationships are maintained between the Chinese schools and the public schools, which accept Chinese school classes to meet foreign language requirements. In the case of the San Marino Chinese School, at least, close relationships are maintained with the educational system in Taiwan. Students from San Marino Chinese School, for example, have even won national writing competitions in Taiwan. Public schools also recognize the status of Mandarin by offering Mandarin as a "foreign language" subject at the high school level. The official status of Mandarin not only privileges those for whom Mandarin is the primary home language—most notably Mandarin speakers from Taiwan and China. The privileged position of Mandarin also allows high status Taiwanese Chinese to maintain mobility in the face of political and economic uncertainties, and enables them to convert economic capital into educational capital, which provides a form of insurance in both the U.S. and Taiwanese contexts.

In culture and business, Cantonese plays an important role, and this role most directly reflects the influence of the Hong Kong Chinese. Hong Kong television shows, movies and music are prominent among the Chinese community in the Western San Gabriel Valley, and indeed worldwide among the Chinese diaspora. As noted above, many Chinese transnationalists outside of Taiwan and Hong Kong have their roots in southern China, and even among those groups for whom Cantonese is not a heritage language, they have a much higher affinity for Cantonese than for Mandarin, a knowledge of which carries certain political connotations. In many of the restaurants, supermarkets, and other small businesses, Cantonese is prevalent, reflecting the transfer of capital from Hong Kong into the Western San Gabriel Valley region.

The Chinese-Vietnamese have a wide range of ethnic identities which were developed prior to arrival in the U.S. and further shaped by their mass migration from Vietnam. In Vietnam, Chinese-Vietnamese identities ranged from an isolationist Chinese identity to an assimilated Chinese-Vietnamese identities, with a range of intermediate identities in between. The degree of adaptation of the Chinese in Vietnam depended on a variety of demographic, socio-economic, political, and historical factors.

Beliefs about language are inextricably linked to beliefs about participation in community. The Chinese-Vietnamese in Vietnam, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, have demonstrated a high degree of pragmatism at alternately emphasizing local identities and historical connections to China. In the San Gabriel Valley, this linguistic and ethnic pragmatism can also be seen in the ability of some Chinese-Vietnamese businesspeople to form multi-ethnic networks, providing access to business contacts, capital, labor, and clientele. On the other hand, the findings of Frank (1995a) suggested that linguistic abilities—both spoken and oral—in multiple languages, in addition to assertion of Chinese ethnic identity and Vietnamese nationality, created barriers to full participation in the social setting[6] and highlighted language as a site of both internal and external conflict for the Chinese-Vietnamese. Based on these assertions, the questions to which this dissertation is addressed deal with the language abilities and practices of Chinese-Vietnamese youth and what they reveal about the underlying beliefs toward ethnic identity and economic possibility in the Western San Gabriel Valley region. As a foundation for answering these questions, the following chapter will explore in more depth the relationship between language and ethnicity, and the role of narrative in the construction of social identity.

---

[6] For example, the Chinese-Vietnamese participants in Frank (1995b) noted that they were passed by in terms of job opportunities because of their lack of literacy in Chinese and/or their inability to speak Mandarin. Similarly, they were also ostracized by Cantonese speakers because of their Vietnamese nationality.

CHAPTER 3: Language Choice, Ethnic Identity, and Narratives

In the previous chapter a social and historical framework was laid for an understanding of the context of Chinese-Vietnamese identity. The social and historical context of the Chinese community in Vietnam, the refugee experience, connections within the broader context of the Chinese Diaspora, and the stratified economic and ethnic context of the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles were all seen as contributing factors which have shaped the ethnic and class identities of the Chinese-Vietnamese. In this chapter, the relationships between language and ethnic identity are explored in more depth. The position asserted in this chapter is that individuals use language in ways which in a dynamic way reflect patterns of relationships the social context. It is asserted that the underlying beliefs of multilingual individuals can be seen through the language choices they make and through narratives that individuals use to construct or contest social identities.

In the context of social interaction, individuals make choices which reflect their ethnic and linguistic identities (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). These *acts of identity* identify the speaker both through the way that language is used—including language choice—as well as through meanings embedded in discourse—through narrative, metaphor, and other linguistic means. Through language, individuals either enact or resist unconscious cultural models, or folk theories, which are shared in a given social setting (Gee, 1996). In addition, narratives and the meanings which are constituted through them entail enactments of socially-defined roles (Gee, 1992, 1996). Therefore, the immediate goal of narrative analysis in this dissertation is to examine how Chinese-Vietnamese speakers assume particular identities through narrative, as well as to explore the underlying beliefs that are embodied in these narratives. The broader goal of this analysis is to understand how Chinese-Vietnamese youth construct a sense of identity, and the way in which constructed identities affect their participation in various social fields.

In this study, the social role of language is viewed from two symbiotic perspectives. First, language is a symbol which marks group affiliation/affinity, but which shifts according to the needs of different social contexts, interpersonal interactions, and social roles (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Gee, 1990, 1996). These shifts can be observed in a variety of ways, including linguistic forms and/or language choice. Second, language-in-use constitutes *discourse*—a linguistically-structured medium in which speakers use different means of constructing meaning, including narrative, metaphor, and so on—to make sense of the social context in which they live. In both of these senses, language is not a fixed entity existing apart from social context, but rather is in dynamic flux and variation as individuals use personal and shared experiences to position their identities in a changing social environment which, in many cases, resists their assertions of identity. In other words, language—and the beliefs that the community has toward language—is therefore also shaped by the unequal distribution of power in the community (Gee, 1992; Bourdieu, 1983).

Acts of Identity

A basic premise of this study is that ethnolinguistic identities are not fixed but are continually shifting in response to interaction within social contexts. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) maintain that notions such as 'ethnicity' and 'language' are not clearly distinguishable objects which are external to or separate from human interaction. The formation of ethnic identities and meanings is process-oriented and intimately related to social context. Furthermore, it is shaped by a variety of social and historical forces. Finally, as Omi and Winant note, "Actors, both individual and collective, have to manage incoherent and conflictual … meanings and identities in everyday life" (1992: 6; see also, Omi & Winant, 1986). In other words, ethnic identity formation takes place in dynamic relation to social context.

Ethnic identities and meanings are negotiated and constructed in the context of human interaction. Speakers use language in ways that reinforce the relationships between the speaker and the listener, for example to emphasize *solidarity* among members of an ethnic group or a perceived community[1]. Alternatively, a speaker may choose to use language that displays a particular *status* in order to bring into the interaction an ascribed authority or power relationship. Language choice and patterns of language use reflect the social relations which in part form the context for the interaction. Gumperz (1982:65) argues "this overtly marked separation between in- and out-group standards…perhaps best reflects the bilingual experience."

Language is not requisite to the formation of ethnic identity; however, it is a powerful means of reinforcing socially and historically patterned relationships and distinctions among groups in particular social settings. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) argue that ethnicity and language are concepts that are formed by individuals who project these ideas to those around them to varying degrees and in different ways, forming social networks of shared beliefs. This pattern of projection, focusing and diffusion determines the nature of groups in society as well as their mode of operation. Moreover, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller argue that language is similar to other social behavior by which individuals define themselves, but that it adds the dimension of symbolism.

---

[1] In social psychological approaches to language attitudes, such as that of Giles and his colleagues (see, for example, Giles & Coupland, 1991 and Giles & Robinson, 1990), uses of language which build solidarity are known as *convergence*, while uses of language that emphasis social distance or uniqueness are known as *divergence*.

> In language … we are offered, by the society we enter, and we offer to others, a very overt symbolization of our selves and our universe … through the social marking which each occasion of use carries. Language is not only itself the focal center of our acts of identity; it also consists of metaphors, and our focussing of it is around such metaphors or symbols (1985: 247-248).

In other words, by choosing a particular language or way of using a language—especially the images, themes, turns of a phrase and other marked/structured uses of language imbued with meanings particular to a group or community—individuals make use of a symbolic focus which gives particular meanings to particular listeners in particular social contexts.

Le Page's and Tabouret-Keller's analyses are useful in that they define language as a social action through which individuals enact "acts of identity." That is, individuals use language both to reveal their personal identity and their social roles. Based on findings from their research into the transitional identities in the post-Colonial Creole-speaking Caribbean, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller claim that language evolves as different groups of different generations as well as different political entities encounter new needs for various identities. However, their theories reflect a social psychological emphasis on individual instrumentality and consensus building. For example, they find that West Indian youth in London "draw closer together in the face of hostility from their surrounding circumstances" and consequently form new social and linguistic identities. Yet Le Page and Tabouret-Keller leave unexamined the role that the environing society plays and the relations of power that constitute it.

In a pluralistic urban region like the San Gabriel Valley of Los Angeles individuals do not freely choose from among a marketplace of identities beliefs about notions such as ethnicity and language. Instead, formal and informal beliefs about ethnicity are often conflictual in nature and act upon individuals as much as they are constituted by individuals. For example, the Chinese-Vietnamese are viewed with suspicion by many ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong or Taiwan because they were born in Vietnam, even though there may be no major linguistic or cultural barriers separating them. For example, interviewees in Frank (1995b) noted that Taiwanese shopkeepers would often view them with suspicion because they looked Vietnamese, and the shopkeepers believed that all people from Vietnam stole things. These attitudes have been echoed numerous times in conversations and interviews with people from Vietnam, Hong Kong and Taiwan. For other Chinese groups, theft and cheating are common for all people from Vietnam; therefore, the Chinese-ness of the Chinese-Vietnamese is negated as a means of cultural solidarity because of their Vietnamese nationality. On the other hand, the ethnic Vietnamese accept the Chinese-Vietnamese as co-nationals as long as the Chinese-Vietnamese behave in a "Vietnamese" way. If, however, the Chinese-Vietnamese assert their "Chinese-ness" through language use or other cultural practices or through naming themselves as "Chinese" or Chinese-Vietnamese," the Chinese-Vietnamese are viewed as disloyal to the country of their birth and so create a rift in social harmony. In short, the Chinese-Vietnamese face both internal and external conflict: external conflict if they reveal their "Vietnamese-ness," or Vietnamese nationality or assert their "Chinese-ness" in inappropriate social contexts; internal conflicts regarding their own attitudes toward and beliefs about their country/culture of ethnic identification, China, and their country of birth, Vietnam.

The conflict over the nature of "Chinese-Vietnamese-ness" is important in the context of the San Gabriel Valley. The Chinese-Vietnamese face the need to balance harmony with other Chinese sub-groups, who often control job prospects in the San Gabriel Valley region as well as access to financial resources of entrepreneurs among the Chinese diaspora. But they also want to maintain harmony with the Vietnamese community because the two groups share many of the same experiences in migrating to the U.S. The inward need for social harmony, a very strong Confucian value, coupled with external conflict over the nature of their "Chinese-ness" and "Vietnamese-ness" places the Chinese-Vietnamese in a very tentative and marginalized social position.

The conflict over "Chinese-Vietnamese-ness" is nowhere more important than in the setting of school. While in terms of geographical space, there is an overlap among the Chinese-Vietnamese, other Chinese groups, and the ethnic Vietnamese, there are few institutions other than the school in which these groups interact. Therefore, the school context becomes important for an understanding of the construction and/or contestation of Chinese-Vietnamese identity. The social space of the school is explored in greater depth through a number of narratives analyzed in Chapter 6.

The preceding discussion of language and ethnicity shapes this dissertation in two ways. First, this dissertation focuses on perceived social relationships in the San Gabriel Valley. While the global nature of the Chinese-Vietnamese community is a reality which many Chinese-Vietnamese families acknowledge—with family members spread to different parts of the world—the local patterns of interaction with other social groups equally shape the development of their sense of ethnic identity. Second, the main criteria for determining "Chinese-Vietnamese-ness" in this dissertation is the use of a Chinese language within the family. This restriction allows this study to focus on a multilingual community (rather than merely bilingual) to allow for a more thorough exploration into the relationship between language, ethnicity, and adaptation.

Social Networks and Language Use

As has been argued above, in multilingual communities such as the Chinese-Vietnamese, the choice among languages and language varieties reflects social information about the speaker. In particular, speakers enact particular social roles, related to status, and the roles which they enact are closely related to the social networks in which the speakers are participants.

The link between language and social variables such as class or status has formed an important theme in studies of language dialects (vernaculars) in social settings. In his studies of language variation in New York City and Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1966, 1972a, 1972b) observed linguistic forms used primarily in conversational speech in order to determine the agent of innovation in linguistic change. Labov introduced the notion of *speech community*, which refers a (relatively large) group of people who are united by their common evaluation of linguistic norms.

The nature and extent of the influence of social networks on language variation and language maintenance have been studied by Milroy (1987a), applying network theory to the study of linguistic variation in three Dublin neighborhoods. Milroy applies the concept of social network to the sociolinguistic study of the context of three communities[2] in Belfast, paying particular attention to the degree to which an individual has a connection through more than one role with another (e.g., cousin and co-worker), or relational *multiplexity*, and the degree to which members of an individual's primary network are interconnected, or *density*. Milroy found that the working class communities which she was studying were characterized by relatively dense, multiplex relationships. That is, community members were connected through multiple roles and community members were highly interconnected. Milroy contends that such dense, multiplex relationships are characteristic of low status communities and carry with them a complicated nexus of rights and responsibilities—including patterns of language use—which must be maintained if the relationships are to be preserved. In other words, dense, multiplex interconnections in low status communities, reflected in *patterns of linguistic similarity*, exemplify the value placed on loyalty and solidarity in that setting.

---

[2] Milroy defines community as a small-scale, relatively concrete social grouping formed on a territorial basis and consisting of patterned relationships among individuals.

In network theory, the social field is conceived of as being composed of numerous social groups which are distinguished by predetermined characteristics such as ethnicity, class, gender, age, and so on. Each of these characteristics have an associated status, which is not clearly defined in the social context. These theories presuppose that dominant society is normative, and members of minority groups, as rational agents, can choose to assimilate into the dominant culture or remain distinct or separate from it, depending on the perceived benefits and/or social rights and obligations. Nevertheless, notions like *community*, with its implied social relations, are believed to be consensually maintained, as are the social distinctions within the social field (see Milroy, 1986).

It is precisely at this point—the consensual nature of social relations—that criticisms have been leveled toward social network theories, as well as other similar social psychological theories. St. Clair (1982) argues that social psychological approaches to language, such as network theory, often neglect the broader historical social forces that lead to particular patterns of relations in society, and as a result, the social forces shaping linguistic accommodation are poorly understood.

Li Wei[3] (1994) adapted the social network approach of Milroy, seeking to connect his research with more encompassing social theory, in his research into patterns of language choice and language shift in the Chinese community in Northeast England. In particular, he examined the patterns of language choice and language behavior in three generations of ten extended families of Chinese immigrants. His goal was to find in patterns of micro-level conversational choices and abilities in the social networks of those studied links to:

> a coherent social model which [could] account for the relationship between community-level language choice and interactional-level code-switching, and for the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context (1994: 179).

Li Wei found that the social networks—classified as exchange, interactive, and 'passive' networks which he examined according to ethnic and peer group composition—roughly corresponded to an individual's generation in the U.K. The social networks of the grandparents' generation were almost entirely oriented around the use of Chinese, while the social networks in the parents' generation involved some peer relations in the passive network who were non-Chinese, and the social networks in the children's generation almost completely non-Chinese. In addition, he found that patterns of code-switching corresponded to the language networks corresponding to each generation.

---

[3] For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that Li Wei (1994) and Li Wei (1997, 1999, 2000) are two different researchers with two different professional orientations, the former a linguist in the U.K. and the latter a geographer in the U.S.

There were notable exceptions to the generally linear movement from Chinese-based networks to English-based networks in the three generations. For example, two males in the grandparent generation had several members of their networks who were English speaking. However, Li does not offer insight into the qualities that might have made the "outliers" different.

Li Wei's analysis represents a very positive step in understanding the Chinese community in the U.K. He provides detailed information about the history and the social context of the Chinese community in Northeastern England. Moreover, he provides detailed analyses of micro-level personal interactions, gleaned from extensive participant observation and ethnographic interviews, following, in particular the approach of Spradley (1979). Li Wei frames these interactions in the context of patterned social networks which, in turn, are based on language ability as well as language choice and are shifting across generations.

Nevertheless, Li's analysis is lacking in two broad areas. First, the goal of the participant observation and ethnographic interview is an *emic* orientation, that is, an analysis of the "insider perspective." Li's perspective reveals an ambiguity between two different positions. On the one hand, he was an "insider" in that he had participated as a member of the community for three years prior to conducting the research. As a participant in the community who was on "friendly terms" with the community, he provided commentary on the social in-workings of the community. However, Li noted that his research "adopted a covert approach, making use of roles readily provided by the social context" (p. 76). He himself was a novice in Cantonese, the primary language of 80% of the participants in his study, but his willingness to learn opened opportunities for him to conduct his research into patterns of language. As a researcher, however, Li positioned himself outside of the community. He notes that "the families expressed no doubts of my academic ability, even though few of them understood the nature of the study" (p.82). Li maintains that as an "insider observer" he was able to interpret the meanings of the interactions that he observes. However, Li does not fully critique his own role as a highly educated male non-Cantonese-speaking researcher in the context of dynamic social relationships. He presents himself as an observer of specific social contexts—such as a local church, which he identifies as a key social institution in one segment of the community, or other similar social institutions—but does not allow the voice and perspectives of the research participants to shape the research. In other words, this is an example of *research on* members of the Chinese community in the U.K., but not *research for* or *research with* them (see Cameron, et al., 1992), essentially objectifying the research participants.

Of particular concern here is Li's uncritical discussion of social factors which can shape patterns of language use. Li focuses on patterns of language use but not the ideas communicated in the language. He seeks to bridge the gap between the micro-level of social interaction and the macro-level of social relations only through the means of patterns of language use. There are a number of macro-level factors which Li raises but leaves as unproblematic. For example, Li notes that most of the Chinese community in Tyneside came from former British colonies such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. Yet, his approach does not allow for underlying neo-colonial orientations to be a factor in language shift. Similarly, he raises issues such as distinctions among various subgroups of Chinese, most notably between those who came from poorer rural backgrounds and participated mainly in catering businesses in Tyneside as contrasted with relatively wealthier urbanites, who tended to be more highly educated professionals or students. Li noted the importance of considering the various distinctions in the Chinese community, but then goes on to dismiss the effects of these distinctions on his research, stating:

> None of these internal differences, however, can be compared to the dichotomy between Chinese and non-Chinese, a dichotomy established from the very beginning of Chinese history and maintained by the Chinese people wherever they are (p.51).

In this traditionalist paradigm, Li dismisses, for example, the historical animosity between the *bendi* and the *Hakka*, who experienced communal conflicts over hundreds of years. Likewise, he negates the influence of class distinctions as a basis for differences in language use. Nor does Li critically assess his own role and his influence on the research context as an educated man from a particular Chinese background with its associated social and historical perspective.

In the same way that economic and historical factors do not particularly shape Li's interpretation of language use patterns, Li also minimizes the effect of gender on his research. Li raised the issue of gender in terms of his access to the community, noting that previous researchers (So, 1989; Pong, 1991) had had problems with access into the community because of the community's belief in male dominance outside of the home environment. However, he summarily dismissed the problem of gender, saying that the families accepted him as a male academic, and because he was male did not question his research. Again, he leaves as unproblematic, and essentially unquestioned, his own privileged position as an educated male researcher in a highly stratified social setting.

The notion of social network is useful for the current research into the Chinese-Vietnamese patterns of language use and language shift among Chinese-Vietnamese families in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. But to understand the reasons for particular patterns of social relations and language shift among the Chinese-Vietnamese, micro-level analysis must be preceded by a more critical analysis of the patterns of social and historical relations shaping the adaptation of the Chinese-Vietnamese to the San Gabriel Valley. This dissertation focuses on attitudes and beliefs toward language as related to cultural capital that has been valued or devalued by different sets of historical relationships and which is evidenced through narratives and stories told from the perspective of community members themselves.

Unlike the more established working class communities in Dublin studied by Milroy, the Chinese-Vietnamese have been fragmented by a variety of historical factors, most notably the refugee experience. As a result, the Chinese-Vietnamese community is highly diffuse, and not dense or multiplex. The Chinese-Vietnamese community is family-oriented—all of those interviewed lived with or near their nuclear (birth) families, and many with members of their extended family as well. However, a number of the interviewees noted that their families were spread throughout different regions of the U.S. and different countries because of the patterns of relocation by refugee agencies. Chinese-Vietnamese households also have a higher percentage of older non-working family members than other Chinese immigrant groups due to the refugee experience. As a result, they are less mobile and less able to take advantage of economic opportunities outside of the immigrant economies than other Chinese groups (*c.f.*, Le, 1993).

Other factors related to the refugee experience mark the Chinese-Vietnamese community as different from other Chinese groups in the San Gabriel Valley, as well, for a number of reasons discussed in Chapter 2. Most notably, the refugee experience interrupted educations among children, and resulted in the loss of capital assets, which would have allowed many Chinese-Vietnamese families to re-establish themselves in the new social setting. While these experiences were not uncommon as recently as a generation ago among Southeast Asian Chinese, the Chinese-Vietnamese lost most or all of their financial resources at a time when Chinese from other Asian nations – especially Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia—were experiencing rapid economic expansion.

In addition, many Chinese-Vietnamese have come through normal immigration categories since the end of mass refugee migration from Vietnam in the 1980s through direct sponsorship or other forms of aid from family members who left Vietnam in the late 1970s or early 1980s as refugees. Therefore, the newer arrivals have been directed towards existing patterns of economic activity through socialization by earlier arrivals. In other words, the Chinese-Vietnamese are different in the ways in which they have been integrated into local economies in the Los Angeles region, where many of them have settled, either through primary or secondary migration. Similarly, because the economic relations are rooted in the refugee experience, the Chinese-Vietnamese are different in their relationship with and attitudes toward government authorities. This can be seen, as noted above, Chinese-Vietnamese youth had a rate six times higher in the use of certain forms of financial aid at PCC than did the next highest group (Frank, 1995a; on the use of public assistance see also, Gold, 1994).

Because their histories are shaped by different factors that than those of other Chinese immigrant groups, and somewhat different from the Vietnamese as well, the Chinese-Vietnamese cannot be understood from a traditional immigrant paradigm. Moreover, the Chinese-Vietnamese have not formed a new "community" in the U.S., nor have they formed unique geographical-cultural centers as have some other immigrant groups. Rather, as noted in Chapter 2, the Chinese-Vietnamese migrated to areas with pre-existing concentrations of ethnic Chinese from other backgrounds. In addition, they have not been permitted to participate fully as members of other communities. An analysis of micro-level communication would not provide insight into Chinese-Vietnamese responses to the historical and social factors that shape their experiences in Los Angeles and shape their adaptation to the region.

Language choices among the Chinese-Vietnamese cannot be seen as a linear progression from Chinese and/or Vietnamese to English, in the traditional paradigm of the *diglossia* model put forward by Fishman (see, for example, Fishman, 1989), in which language and ethnic identity maintenance are a function of the relationship of the language minority group to the environing society. In the *diglossia* model, when minority languages are used in a decreasing number of social domains and the linguistic minority group has too few resources to maintain their language and ethnic identities, then the minority language is lost and the dominant language prevails. Although the Chinese-Vietnamese are limited in their own resources for language maintenance, they still have multiple possibilities for assertions of identities, given the development of the San Gabriel Valley Chinese *ethnoburb*, and the consequent possibility for the maintenance of alternative subjectivities. The patterns of choices that the Chinese-Vietnamese make reveal underlying beliefs about their status and relationships with other groups in the social context of the San Gabriel Valley.

In Chapter 2 it was asserted that the Chinese-Vietnamese identify themselves as members of the Chinese Diaspora. Ong (1993, 1997) and Nonini (1997; Nonini & Ong, 1997) argue that in order to engage in transnational practices of capital acquisition and transfer, many groups who are connected through heritage and beliefs to the Chinese Diaspora seek to gain the benefits of those controlled by nation-state regimes of power knowledge, without being controlled by those regimes. They contend that:

> Chinese transnationalists seek to elude the localizations placed on them by, above all, moving between national spaces, playing off one nation-state regime against another, seeking tactical advantage—knowing that it is easier to become a citizen here than there, that there are more legal and political rights in country X than in country Y, and so on (Nonini & Ong, 1997: 23; see also Ong, 1993).

Because of the transnational nature of Chinese Diaspora communities, different identities, based on race, gender, nationality, subculture, and dominant culture, "intersect in and constitute and individual" (1997: 25). Moreover, these transnational communities are forming new subjectivities that are not rooted in place, resist traditional notions of citizenship and nationality, and undermine national regimes of truth. In other words, Chinese transnationalists create, for example, alternative means to preserving economic and cultural capital, as well as other forms of capital, than those offered through governmental educational systems.

For the Chinese-Vietnamese, the question, then, becomes one of alternate subjectivities, or modernities. The choices facing Chinese-Vietnamese youth are complex. Whether they choose an identity that emphasizes solidarity within the context of the immigrant America, which entails becoming language attrition and emphasis on the use of English, or identify themselves that emphasizes their position as part of the

Chinese diaspora, they face the likelihood of marginalization. Similarly, if they choose to assert a Vietnamese identity, they face a loss of history and identity as Chinese. Therefore, an exploration into patterns of Chinese-Vietnamese language choice and assertions of ethnic identity can result in an understanding of the "trajectory" (Bourdieu, 1983; Hanks, 1996) of the social development and adaptation of the Cinese-Vietnamese community.

Cultural Reproduction through Language

Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b, 1983, 1991, 1993; Bourdieu & Passerson, 1977) examines the role that the culture in general, and language as a form of symbolic cultural capital, plays in maintaining the unequal structure of power relations in stratified (capitalist) social settings. He seeks to account for the influence of social structures on individual and group agency in the reproduction of the structure of relations between the classes. In particular, Bourdieu examines the notion of cultural capital the manner in which the structure of the distribution culture capital serves to maintain unequal class relations.

Very important in Bourdieu's analysis of reproduction is the complex concept of *habitus*. In one place Bourdieu defines this concept as "that system of predispositions which acts as a mediation between structures and practice." Harker (1984) suggests that *habitus* "the way culture is embodied in the individual." In essence, *habitus* pertains to the tendency of groups of individual agents to choose to adapt to structures which either limit or maintain their social status, thus reproducing the existing social structures. *Habitus* is grounded in past experience, particularly through the experience of primary socialization, or habituation, in the family context and secondly through socialization in the context of school. These two socializing structures serve to transmit what has traditionally been thought to be a heritage of cultural wealth which, undivided, belongs to all members of society.

However, Bourdieu argues that this wealth of *cultural capital*, in part consisting of cultural practices legitimized by the educational system, is accumulated and passed on to succeeding generations, but only those who have the tools for or means of appropriating the wealth. And these tools are not distributed equally, nor are they conferred by the educational system. Rather, Bourdieu argues that the means of appropriating cultural capital are intimately related to the *habitus* of the dominant classes. In other words, children in the dominant classes are endowed with a system of predispositions necessary for the familiarization with and reception of information and training in the area of culture. The *habitus* of children from the lower classes, on the other hand, negatively predisposes them towards schooling. Moreover, Bourdieu suggests that children from the most culturally unfavored classes or sections of a class unconsciously estimate their objective probabilities for (lack of) success and thus eliminate themselves, either physically or psychologically, from the process of schooling.

One aspect of cultural capital and consequently of *habitus* through which distinctions are made, particularly in education, is language. *Habitus* "governs the use of language in everyday interactions, 'defining for a determinate agent the linguistic strategy that is adapted to his particular chances of profit, given his specific competence and authority'" (DiMaggio 1979; see also Hanks, 1996). Furthermore, lower-middle class students have access to the linguistic patterns of the upper middle and upper classes only through schooling, as with other forms of cultural capital, they pursue the acquisition language through schooling, and even then may not acquire the cultural capital which given through the socialization of the family to those whose culture is represented in the school. Those from the lower classes have little or no access to the language of the dominant classes. In short, the educational process, Bourdieu contends, has been monopolized by the dominant classes, which through "diffuse and implicit pedagogic action" related to family upbringing are able to transmit the linguistic and cultural competence as well as the familiarity with the dominant culture.

Bourdieu maintains that academic success depends directly on cultural capital as well as on the tendency of families to invest in the academic market to maintain or improve their social status. Moreover, because those groups that are richer in cultural capital receive greater rewards from the school system than those that are less endowed, they are more likely to be active participants in the schooling process. In addition, the degree to which different groups depend on the sanctions and approval of the educational system to maintain or promote their social position is reliant upon the ability of the group to set up a rival principle of hierarchical ordering. In the case of certain professionals (especially doctors and lawyers), for example, investment in consumer goods is converted into social capital or the capital of social relationships which serve as "supports" and create a hierarchy outside the academic one. In short, dominant groups know how to and are able to obtain the fullest value for their educational investment, while children from other groups are inhibited from claiming that value.

Bourdieu argues that education tends to add wealth in terms of *cultural capital* to those groups which already have both economic capital and the capital of power and social relationships, or cultural capital. In addition, because of the impotence of academic capital, the influence of which is limited to the academic market, those groups which lack economic capital are limited in terms of opportunity to possess cultural capital through the educational system, while groups with economic capital have greater chances and may not even need the academic capital to realize their goals. In essence, Bourdieu posits that education actually serves to legitimate the unequal social and power (class) relations that exist in society; dominant groups, whose *habitus* predisposes them to full acquisition of cultural capital, are able to maintain their power through the reproduction through the educational system of unequal social structures.

Nevertheless, Bourdieu's theories of *habitus* and cultural capital rely heavily on formal institutions such as families, schools, and governments in the reproduction of social relations. It is at this point that Bourdieu's theory of reproduction has been challenged, particularly with regards to "linguistic markets". Based on her study of language and authority in Catalonia, Spain, Kathryn Woolard (1985, 1989) contended that Bourdieu's theories of symbolic power lacked explanatory value with respect to the relatively higher authoritative value placed on the officially marginalized Catalán language in comparison to the officially sanctioned Castilian by both Catalán and Castilian speakers. Woolard contends that the symbolic value placed on correct vernacular forms in the private social contexts of working-class neighborhoods, where informal interactions reinforce the use of Catalán, was as great as that given to the production of the official language in public spheres. As a result, Woolard argues for alternative linguistic markets that may be constructed outside of the official domains of language production (see also Schieffelin, et al., 1998). These alternative linguistic markets are supported by the coalescence of class conflict and resistance movements.

Woolard's contention of the construction of alternative linguistic markets holds particular value for a discussion of the symbolic value of language among the Chinese-Vietnamese in the San Gabriel Valley. The assertion of a strong(er) Chinese ethnic identity runs against dominant ideologies of language and ethnicity in the U.S., where the acquisition of English and subjugation of ethnicity to a nationalistic one is both expected and rewarded through the educational system. In addition, the tendency of the Chinese-Vietnamese to acquire Chinese languages other than Mandarin, the official language in China and Taiwan, and the *de facto* official language of Chinese education in the U.S., highlights the resiliency of the Chinese-Vietnamese in reclaiming unofficial Chinese identities in the face of the opposition of formal institutions promoting assimilation into dominant American society, and those serving as semi-official linkages to Chinese transnational communities elsewhere.

Cultural Resistance: Transnational Practices and Language Use

Ong (1993, 1997) and Nonini (1997; Nonini & Ong, 1997) argue that in order to engage in transnational practices of capital acquisition and transfer, many groups who are connected through heritage and beliefs to the Chinese Diaspora seek to gain the benefits of those controlled by nation-state regimes of power knowledge, without being controlled by those regimes. They contend that:

> Chinese transnationalists seek to elude the localizations placed on them by, above all, moving between national spaces, playing off one nation-state regime against another, seeking tactical advantage—knowing that it is easier to become a citizen here than there, that there are more legal

> and political rights in country X than in country Y, and so on (Nonini & Ong, 1997: 23; see also Ong, 1993).

Because of the transnational nature of Chinese Diaspora communities, different identities, based on race, gender, nationality, subculture, and dominant culture, "intersect in and constitute and individual" (1997: 25). Moreover, these transnational communities are forming new subjectivities that are not rooted in place, are self-consciously post modern, and undermine national regimes of truth. In other words, Chinese transnationalists create, for example, alternative means to preserving economic and cultural capital, as well as other forms of capital, than those offered through governmental educational systems.

Language is implicated in transnationalists practices in several ways. First, transnationalists locate themselves at the nexus of three kinds of economic-cultural identities, which facilitate the exchange of economic and cultural capital: a Chinese ethnic identity, a localized (e.g., Southeast Asian) identity, and an international capitalist identity. These identities involve social networks and identities based on a Chinese language, such as Cantonese or *Fukkien*, an indigenous local language, such as Malay or Thai, and a language for international business, usually English. The Chinese-Vietnamese, as well as other groups on the periphery of Chinese transnationalist practices, also "invest" in language as a means of translating economic capital into cultural capital and vice versa. However, as Nonini (1997) found with many Chinese Malaysians on the periphery of the Chinese transnational economy, cultural and social practices on the periphery do not often lead to the benefits enjoyed by the elites. For the Chinese-Vietnamese, investments in language and education in Vietnam and the

U.S. have had limited effects on their participation socially and economically in the San Gabriel Valley region.[4]

Cultural Models, Social Roles and Language

Gee (1993) further develops the relationship between group membership, language, beliefs and action. According to Gee, we form cultural models—which are like folk theories, schemas or frames—in which prototypical events unfold, much like a movie or videotape in the mind. These cultural models are learned through socialization, through being open to and having experiences in cultural or social groups, through practicing language and interaction in natural, meaningful contexts. Cultural models are unconscious, seldom-examined assumptions which embody the distribution of social goods and appear as natural, obvious, just the way things are, inevitable, even appropriate. Meanings, and the cultural models that compose them, are ultimately rooted in negotiation between different social practices with different interests. The negotiations which constitute meanings are limited by values emanating from communities, which for Gee are simply "persons whose paths have fallen together."

For Gee, these cultural models are linked together by "master myths," or are assumptions associated with certain characteristic metaphors, or turns of phrase and thought, in which the group encapsulates its favored wisdom. Master myths are embodiments of the largely unconscious and unexamined values by which groups or communities operate. For example, the master myth of transnational Chinese economic success is one that drives the economic and educational participation of the

---

[4] For further discussion on this point, the synthesis of findings at the end of Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Chinese-Vietnamese in both Vietnam and the San Gabriel Valley region. Participating in Chinese schooling, acquiring or maintaining the ability to speak Cantonese, and gaining an American education are all thought to be important in gaining access to transnational Chinese wealth (see Chapters 6 and 7 for further discussion).

For Gee, status and solidarity are important in the formation of social identity, but rather than relegating status and solidarity to matters of individual choice—as has been the case with social network approaches—Gee holds that the language choices that individuals make are shaped by unequal structures of power in society. Individuals use language in ways that are contextually appropriate to particular social roles and the relationships entailed by these roles. Through primary socialization a person acquires certain patterns of language use—language choice and language variety—and ways of making meaning.

Gee introduces the term *Discourse* to refer to "a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group, or 'social network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role" (1993: 143). *Discourses* are acquired (not learned) and are historically and socially defined. They are ideological[5] in nature, and are closely connected with the distribution of power and hierarchical structure in society. Individuals are introduced into a '*primary Discourse'* in the home through the primary process of enculturation, but from the base of the primary Discourse may acquire additional *secondary Discourses* as well through interaction in social institutions beyond the family. Moreover, while secondary Discourses are shaped by the primary Discourse, the primary Discourse can also be influenced by secondary Discourses. This happens as a result of the sometimes-conflicting roles and responsibilities that a person plays.

---

[5] Gee (1996: 21) broadly defines ideology as "'a *social theory* (tacit or overt, primary, removed or deferred) which involves generalizations (beliefs, claims) *about the way(s) in which 'goods'"—anything which is determined to have intrinsic social value—"are distributed in society,*" that is among a group of people who agree on what constitutes "goods".

Discourses, in Gee's model, are acquired, and access to the acquisition of a secondary discourse is subject to the power relations with those who control it. A school-based *Discourse*, for example, largely reflects the linguistic patterns of white, middle- and upper-class America, or the dominant culture. Children from dominant culture homes are socialized in the appropriate values and norms outside of their school experience. Therefore, the dominant culture is able to reproduce its position through schooling. In this sense, Gee's approach is similar to that of Bourdieu in his discussion of cultural capital and its use in the reproduction of unequal social relationships. In this respect, social institutions like schools, serve gatekeeper functions, permitting certain types of language use and sanctioning others.

By enacting a *Discourse*, an individual assumes a particular role, group membership, or point in a network. These identities are instantiated is through the use of language, and they can be seen in the ways in which language is used. Each group or social network, and style that fits it, defines a different identity that speakers assume and signal in their language. The assumption of different roles leads to variability in the use of language. This variability can be at basic linguistic levels, such as phonemes and morphemes, but it can also be instantiated at higher more complex levels, such as discourse structure, narrative, metaphor and so on.

Narrative

One of the fundamental ways in which an individual enacts a *Discourse*, or a particular social role is through the use of narrative. Storytelling is ubiquitous part of everyday life. Conversational stories are used to share personal experiences or to persuade others about the importance or relevance of events with which one has a stake. However, storytelling is one of the most powerful means by which individuals seek to make sense of their experiences, position themselves with respect to their listeners, or influence the beliefs of their listener. In telling a story, an individual highlights particular experiences, from the stream of her experience, and transforms it into an event, making the experience "accessible to the understanding by providing a language to talk about the experience" (Shuman, 1986: 20). Stories are interpretive representations of experience. As such, stories are not objective facts, nor are they the same as the experiences themselves. Stories are transformations of experience into bounded sequential units.

The tradition of studying stories, or narratives, as a literary rhetorical style dates back at least to Aristotle's analysis of drama in *Poetics*. Narrative theory is vast field, and a discussion of the breadth of the field is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, excellent discussions of various approaches to narratives can be found in Mishler (1995) and Langellier (1989). The general approach to narrative taken here deals with oral narratives, drawing from a tradition that was first crystallized in the work of Labov (1972, 1982; Labov & Waletsky, 1967). The particular orientation to narrative that I have used draws heavily from the work of James Paul Gee (1985, 1986, 1991, 1996) and developed through the work of others including Riessman (1991, 1993) and modified through the work of Mishler (1992).

Conversational stories are the most widely used type of oral narrative, but there are other narrative genres as well. Genres, Riessman (1991) notes, can be recognized by the persistence of certain conventional elements which engage the audience in diverse ways. Some narratives do follow the chronological order of stories, and may include the prototypical elements of a complicating action and its resolution (Labov, 1972). However, other narrative genres include *habitual narratives*, in which the repeated actions have no peak or climax, *hypothetical narratives*, in which the events depicted did not actually occur, and *topic-centered narratives*, or narratives which link past events thematically rather than chronologically (Riessman, 1991, 1993). Each genre has its own structure and provides a different perspective on the events and experiences that they represent.

Narrative Structure

Stories categorize or impose order on the flow of experience, the overlapping activities of daily life. Stories are constructions of experience, transforming experience into bounded, sequential units with beginnings, endings, and foci (Shuman, 1986). Labov (1972: 359-360) notes that the most basic elements of a narrative are a *complicating action* and its *resolution*. However, a fully formed narrative may include the following free clauses: (1) an *abstract*, or summary of story; (2) an *orientation*, or the setting and characters in a narrative; a *coda*, a general observation about the narrative, which is disconnected from the main narrative; and an *evaluation*, that is, the narrator's indication of the point of the story, why the story is 'tellable' or reportable.

Many structural approaches to narrative (see, for example, Labov 1972; van Dijk, 1980) seek to come up with "story grammars" or categories which give insights into the functions of story parts and point to underlying propositional meanings. van Dijk (1984) suggests that "abstract overall 'forms' of discourse" are schemata which assign particular functions in the discourse to topics used by the speaker.

Another structural approach to the study of narrative is that of Gee (1986, 1991). Gee focuses on the linguistic qualities of spoken narrative. More specifically, the way that the story is said (prosody), contextual cues given by the speaker (contextualization signals), and other linguistic devices, described in more depth below, give important clues to the speaker's intended meaning.

Narrative Context

Narratives are produced in the context of interaction between two people. As a result, the context of the conversation influences what is told and how it is told. Shuman (1986: 21-22) notes that contextual factors affect stories in a number of ways. The text of the stories provide only one of several resources for understanding stories. Other resources include:

- The context described in the story;
- The listener's and teller's prior knowledge of contextual information;
- Inferred as opposed to stated context of the incidents described;
- Other relevant situations in which the participants in the storytelling situation interact either with each other or with the people mentioned in the story;

- The storytelling situation, itself composed of the conversation, other stories told before and after or at other times;
- The frame provided by either the listeners or tellers.

In addition, Shuman maintains that not all contexts are equally available as resources. Not all participants have equal access to all of the resources. For example, borrowing from the social communication theory of Schutz (1967, 1970, 1973), Shuman notes that participants have different horizons of understanding—that is, the situatedness or perspective of speaker and listener is different. The notion of *horizon of understanding* implies continually changing stance. It refers to understandings of individuals in terms of their perspectives. Point of view is the relationship between people and people become aware of each others' perspectives as boundaries or limits. Intelligibility of stories, then, implies horizons of understanding, uses of contextual information, and the expected sequence of events. This means that the intelligibility of the story can be limited by the speaker's or the listener's horizon of understanding.

The stories which speakers construct must also make sense within broader more culturally-defined narrative frames (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). These frames, which allow the story to be intelligible, also constrain the power of the story in the life of its teller. In the case of the narratives collected in this research, the narrative frames include school, home and work. They are constrained by the kinds of experiences that participants have been asked to tell in the school context, but they also reflect some participants resistance against the family frame which tells them not to talk about painful experiences, particularly with strangers.

Narrative Meaning

Individuals use personal narratives–constructions of past events and actions–to make sense of life experiences, to claim identities and to construct life (Rosenwald &

Ochberg, 1992; Riessman, 1993). As Widdershoven (1993) contends, there is a meaningful interaction between stories and life in which stories tell in a meaningful way what life is about and the meaning of life is dependent upon stories.

> A story about life presents us life as it is lived and as such life is the foundation of the story. In presenting life, however, the story gives life a specific sense and makes clear what it is about. Thus a story is based on life, but it is not determined by it because it is an articulation of life that gives it a new and richer meaning (pp. 5-6).

Life is a series of experiences to which individuals give meaning by articulating personal stories which they continually fuse into a meaningful whole, or a narrative identity. "Personal identity presupposes a felt unity of experiences. This unity serves as a foundation for stories, which express experience and thus make its unity manifest (Widdershoven, 1993: 9). In other words, there is a sense in which individuals *become* the autobiographical narratives by which they tell (Riessman, 1993).

Thus, narratives cannot be understood as "objective facts," whose veracity can be tested, and the quality of a narrative is not based on its historical accuracy. Nor are narratives representations of the "true events" as disinterested observers might record it. The observer is removed from the primary experience and can only access it as it is communicated to him. Neither are the "truths" significant only through subjective and intersubjective interpretation, as was the case with the studies of the Chicago School sociologists. Rather, narratives are the truths of the narrator's experience which s/he adapts to fit a particular relational and communicative context.

The narrativization of personal experience, however, is constrained by a variety of social and historical factors. The primary means of socialization for the individual, and the institution that usually has the greatest influence on the *habitus* is the family. Families use a variety of narrative types to shape the behaviors and beliefs of family members. For example, Heath's (1983) classic analysis of the language, life and work in three communities in the North Carolina Piedmont clearly shows the intersection of class and race, particularly in the case of the social institution of the bedtime story. In terms of more personal narratives, Langellier and Peterson (1993) contend that families use a variety of kinds of narratives for the purpose of identity formation, self-preservation and social control. For example, narratives about family monuments–courtships, marriages, births, deaths, and so on–can be appropriated by speakers who want to shape listeners' attitudes toward gender roles, age roles, and so on.

Storyability, according to Shuman (1986) refers on a superficial level to "newsworthiness," or the possibilities for a story. Storyability is influenced by the storytelling context, and the horizons of understanding of both speaker and listener. In the case of Chinese-Vietnamese narratives, Frank (1995b) found that common story themes brought up in an interview context involved the assertion of identity and (lack of) solidarity in in-group communication (e.g., in family communication), conflict in out-group communication, language acquisition or attrition, and so on.

However, the narrative experiences of the Chinese-Vietnamese are not without gaps. Many of the participants were unaware of large portions of their family history, and so these experiences could not be incorporated into their narrative understanding of their own life histories. The Chinese-Vietnamese participants in both Frank (1995b) and the current study were young when events unfolded in Vietnam that shaped their family's destinies. When family members left Vietnam by boat, the participants did not fully understand the costs and consequences of these actions. Those who left by boat often had to endure terribly painful experiences, as many other public accounts testify. However, in the context of the family, these painful experiences were not speakable.

For family members still in Vietnam, those who suffered had to paint a positive picture of life in America, and they simply did not tell all that they went through in the process. When new family members arrive in America, they often experience a distance in family relationships, the causes of which are unnamed and unspoken, but only felt. This theme came out in a number of the interviews.

In other cases, parents of Chinese-Vietnamese interview participants did not reveal the painful effects of post-war poverty to the children, choosing instead, in the words of the Chinese proverb, " to eat the bitterness and swallow the pain." For example, the families of participants who chose to go across the border from Vietnam into China often would not speak to the children of the pain and grief that accompanied their exodus from Vietnam. In the context of the family, discussion of the grief was taboo and therefore not allowed to become a part of the family narrative history.

Similarly, many of the participants, particularly young female participants, noted that many of the experiences that they have outside of the home were not speakable in the context of the family. As Ong and Nonini (1997) have noted, young, single women, in particular, are subject to and controlled by male-oriented familistic regimes of power/knowledge. Moreover, because their families isolate them socially, many of their stories are untellable to peers as well. Anecdotally, on a number of occasions in the process of interviewing, participants told the interviewer that this was the first time that they had been able to tell anyone about their own painful experiences that they had had in their transition to American culture.

Narrative Analysis

The analysis of narrative is a process of interpretation. The narrative may be *immediate*, in that the story is explicitly connected to and is *about* current occasion of the story telling—usually an unresolved situation. Alternatively, the narrative may be mediate—that is, a story which has been stored for a long time and which is part of the speaker's repertoire (Shuman, 1986; Schutz, 1973). In either case, the story is often removed from the experience, which makes the story *reportable*.

Riessman (1993) notes that there are a number of levels of representation, and therefore interpretation, in the process of analyzing narratives: (1) attending, (2) telling, (3) transcribing, (4) analyzing, (5) reading. Each step of the process involves interpretation. The first two levels of representation belong to the storyteller, who in most cases has had the primary experience. In attending, the person who has the experience pays selective attention to aspects of the experience. When the person with the experience tells it to an audience, she imposes order on the experience in order to make it understandable within the context of the conversation. (In some cultural settings, the story is co-constructed by both the speaker and the listeners.) For the researcher, representation begins with the recording of the narrative and transcription. The interpretive nature of transcription is taken up in the next chapter.

Gee (1996) argues that analysis of discourse involves looking at five interrelated linguistic systems that make up all discourse—the design of language in use—including narrative:

- ***Prosody***: The way in which words and sentences of a text are said: their pitch, loudness, stress, and the length assigned to the various syllables (pitch contours), as well as the way in which the speaker hesitates and pauses (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b).

- ***Cohesion***: The many linguistic means in which sentences are connected to each other; the glue that holds a text together (Halliday & Hassan, 1976).
- ***Discourse organization***: The way in which sentences are organized into higher-order units—larger than one sentence. For example, stories are made up of scenes and episodes; similarly, arguments are made up of claims and sub-arguments for a particular position (van Dijk, 1993; Gee, 1996).
- ***Contextualization signals***: Cues used by speakers to direct listeners into what they take the context to be. Context is the basis for mutual understanding. It is construed and negotiated over with the listeners, and speakers may change their minds over the context (Gumperz, 1982a).
- ***Thematic organization***: The ways in which themes—images, contrasts, focal points of interest—are signaled and developed (van Dijk, 1993; Gee, 1996, 1997).

Moreover, discourse has its own internal logic, and speakers use devices to communicate much more than just prepositional meaning. The final level of representation is in the reading of it, where particular meanings are invoked for different readers, as well as for the same reader at different times.

When speakers wish to communicate an extended amount of material, they break it up into what Gee (1992) calls *lines* and *stanzas*. *Lines*, or *idea units* (Chafe 1980, 1994) are usually clauses (simple sentences), or short spurts with a unitary intonation contour and are often bounded by short pauses or hesitations. *Stanzas* are sets of lines about a minimal topic, organized rhythmically and syntactically so as to hang together in a particularly tight way. In this approach, the *stanza* takes a particular perspective on a character, action, event, claim or a piece of information. Each *stanza* has a particular point of view such that when the character, place, time, event or function of a piece of information changes (whether in an argument, report, exposition, or description), the stanza must change. With respect to structural aspects of oral narratives such as lines and stanzas, the analysis of oral narratives is similar to the analysis of poetic structures in that poetry developed as a form of spoken discourse which became frozen in form (for further discussion, see Gee, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992). In addition to the basic structure of lines and stanzas, stanzas are usually organized into higher levels of organization, which Gee calls sections, or episodes. Speakers do not plan these patterns of organization. Rather, Gee argues that discourse structure is emergent by a process of incremental addition that is somewhat broken or thrown into 'crisis' at larger breaks in the text.

Oral texts, or stretches of discourse, are organized according to *themes* and *contrasts* (Gee, 1992, 1996). Often one side of the contrast "wins out" or subordinates the other. However, this process of subordination is often undermined in the workings of the text, and the "winning out" process is not fully resolved. The result is that the text is left unresolved and paradoxical. These unresolutions exist in texts precisely because at a deeper level texts are attempts to come to terms with—to make sense of—very real paradoxes and contradictions, which cannot in reality be removed, even by the discourse texts which seeks to eliminate them. Texts often rely on historically and socioculturally shared motifs, discourse devices, and themes (van Dijk, 1984; Gee, 1992). In these socially-defined themes, one side of a contrast is privileged over another in order to resolve paradox and contradiction. These indeterminacies serve as fertile ground for interpretation.

For example, Gee (1996) analyzes a variety of different texts using the approach of lines and stanzas, themes and contrasts, and so on. In particular, Gee looks analyzes two stories by Leona, a seven-year-old African-American girl, which Leona told during a "sharing-time" at school. Gee demonstrated that Leona's participation in the sharing time was unsuccessful because her text, though complex and well-developed, did not meet the socially-prescribed expectations of the sharing event. In addition, Gee analyzes texts from Shuman (1986) and others to demonstrate the ways in which *Discourses* (see above) shape an individual's participation in the social context. Gee's approach was also taken by Hunt (1990) in his analysis of the narratives of Alzheimer's patients. Riessman (1991) adapted Gee's approach in her analysis of divorce narratives of women. More specifically, Riessman used her analysis of narratives to inform her multiple regression analysis (quantitative) of discourse variables and to allow her to explore how participants attempted to resolve their personal experiences of broader social contradictions and paradoxes through the narrative structures and themes that they employed. Mishler (1993) further adapted Gee's approach to allow for the analysis of interaction between doctors and patients.

In this dissertation, the goal of narrative analysis is to explore the meanings that Chinese-Vietnamese give to language(s) as a symbol of identity, to ethnicity, and to their experiences of education and adaptation to the social context of the San Gabriel Valley. In particular, the following approaches developed in this chapter serve as a framework used to analyze narratives in Chapter 6:

Language use as an act of identity. In the case of the Chinese-Vietnamese, it was seen in Chapter 2, language and ethnicity were closely related to economic activity in the Chinese community in Vietnam. For the Chinese-Vietnamese, the ability to (re-)assert a strong Chinese identity in the San Gabriel Valley region is constrained by the presence of other Chinese groups. Consequently, Chinese identity formation becomes problematic and a site of conflict for the Chinese-Vietnamese, and a potential theme for narrative analysis.

In addition, the complex and multifaceted linguistic histories of the Chinese-Vietnamese community suggest that their language networks will likewise be both diverse and complex. The languages that Chinese-Vietnamese speakers choose to use in the domains of family, school, workplace, neighborhood and so on, have significant implications both for the social identities that speakers enact as well as the trajectories that individuals, and more broadly families and groups of families, take in particular social spaces. The perspectives that individuals take regarding these choices, and the values that they place on particular language networks, as evidenced by the way in which they embody these choices and values in narratives provides insight into the speakers' understandings of their own process of adapting to the social context of the San Gabriel Valley.

Language and the status-solidarity paradox. As previously asserted, ethnic identification is a site of conflict for the Chinese-Vietnamese in the context of the San Gabriel Valley region. More specifically, class distinctions between the Chinese-Vietnamese and the ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan constrain the ability of Chinese speakers from Vietnam from appropriating and exploiting the relatively higher status forms of language available through the Chinese media as well as through peer relationships in the social contexts of school, work, and so on. Consequently, Chinese speakers from Vietnam are unable to form social relationships built around ethnic solidarity with peers from other Chinese groups. The tension between *status* and *solidarity* resulting from class distinctions among peers claiming some type of Chinese identity creates additional "fertile ground" for the construction and interpretation of narratives.

Language choice and reproduction of social relations. It was argued above that in both official institutional contexts (Bourdieu, 1991) and informal alternative linguistic markets (Woolard, 1985, 1989) language is implicated alternately in the maintenance of and resistance to the reproduction of patterns of historical social relations characterized by unequal distribution of goods and power relations among groups in society. Consequently, narratives about language choice reveal underlying, tacit ideologies of language that have important implications for participation in public spaces, and the development of linguistic and ethnic identities. For the Chinese-Vietnamese, these ideologies are contested and undermined by competing ideologies of language both by dominant groups and by other more powerful Chinese minority groups. The understanding of the nature and extent of this contestation provides further fertile ground for narrative analysis.

The Chinese-Vietnamese narrative texts explored in Chapter 6 contain numerous paradoxes related to being Chinese and Vietnamese in a very complex social setting. These contradictions, as well as the attempts of the speaker to resolve them, reveal attempts by Chinese-Vietnamese youth to make sense out of their social context. As has been argued above, Chinese-Vietnamese youth are presented with conflicting subjectivities and conflicting modernities, possibilities for their future identities and directions for development. Each of these paths, however, entails the loss of identity and possibility. Therefore, these conflicting views of development serve as the "fertile ground" for interpretation of Chinese-Vietnamese experiences, attitudes, and beliefs which shape their adaptation to the San Gabriel Valley region.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

In the preceding two chapters it was argued that beliefs about language are intricately related to both ethnic identity formation and to the relationship between an ethnic-class group and other groups in society. Chinese-Vietnamese attitudes toward language have been shaped through historical and social relationships in Vietnam, through the refugee experience and on-going immigration to the United States, and through participation in the Chinese *ethnoburb* in the San Gabriel Valley, with its multiple layers of ethnic and class relationships. Moreover, it was argued in the preceding chapter that beliefs about language, and socially constructed notions of language and ethnicity can be revealed through an analysis of narratives in which these experiences are encoded.

Building upon this theoretical framework, this dissertation explores the extent and nature of multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese community, and it seeks to analyze narratives related to language, ethnicity, as well as educational and economic possibility among Chinese-Vietnamese community college students. Very little research has been done on the cultural orientation of the Chinese-Vietnamese community; the limited research that has been done has focused on the adaptive processes and economic possibilities of newly arrived refugees from Vietnam (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this literature). Therefore, this dissertation serves as a baseline study into the cultural practices of the Chinese-Vietnamese community, and to connect those cultural practices with the broader social context of the Chinese *ethnoburb* in the San Gabriel Valley. Because this is a baseline study, a mixed research methodology has been pursued in order to provide a basic research foundation from which further studies into the linguistic and cultural orientations of the Chinese-Vietnamese can be developed. As Brewer and Hunter (1989) note, multimethod research projects are not free from error, but they do allow a researcher to understand a social phenomenon from a more multidimensional perspective. As a long-term goal of this research, it is especially desired, following Cameron, et al. (1992) that this research program can be not only research on or for the Chinese-Vietnamese community, but research with community members, and that original research done by community members themselves.

This dissertation has two broad research aims: (1) To explore the *extent* of multilingualism among Chinese-Vietnamese community college students, and (2) to In order to accomplish these two aims, two primary research methods have been employed in this research and will be discussed in this chapter: the linguistic diversity survey and recorded, in-depth, semi-structured interviewing. These research methodologies are discussed in the context of the five groups of research questions mentioned in Chapter 1. From there, the discussion moves on to the procedures used for transcription and narrative analysis. The final issues discussed in this chapter are a group of related methodological and ethical issues: access to participants, power relations, participant control of information and anonymity of participants.

1. Researching the **Extent** *of Multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese Community: Linguistic Diversity Surveys*

Research Question #1: Who are the Chinese-Vietnamese? What characteristics identify the Chinese-Vietnamese as a distinct multilingual ethnolinguistic immigrant minority group?

Broeder and Extra (1999) note that there is no single measure that solves the problem of identifying population groups in multicultural societies. Rather, they suggest at least four different types of criteria which provide different information that can lead to the definition and identification of different population groups. These criteria include: (1) nationality, (2) birth country, (3) self-categorization, and (4) home language. Each of these criteria has different advantages and disadvantages. For example, while in most cases nationality and birth country are objective and relatively easy to establish, they lead to intergenerational erosion through naturalization or multiple nationalities. This is certainly the case with the Chinese-Vietnamese . Residence in intermediary countries, like China, Australia or Germany, makes the issue of nationality complex. Some immigrants from Vietnam who are not yet U.S. citizens actually report that they have no official country of origin. Similarly, country of birth or nationality are not always indicative of ethnicity and/or identity.

Self-categorization touches to the heart of the matter and is emancipatory in the sense that it takes account of an individual's own self-conception of ethnicity and/or identity. Yet by definition, self-categorization is subjective by definition and is influenced by the language and/or ethnicity of the interviewer. Moreover, multiple, and at times conflicting, self-categorizations are possible. Finally, self-categorizations are historically charged, especially by the Vietnamese civil war, the subsequent border war with China, and government policies aimed at bringing the ethnic Chinese under control of the Vietnamese communist government.

Broeder and Extra (1999) argue that home language is the most significant criterion of ethnicity in communication processes and home language data are frequently the cornerstone of government policy in areas such as public information or education. On the other hand, home language is an extremely complex criterion. In a diverse multilingual community like the Chinese-Vietnamese, language networks involve the use of different languages with different people and in different contexts. Moreover, language is not always a core value related to ethnicity. Moreover, among the Chinese-Vietnamese, language networks are not static or fixed but are fluid, depending on the influence of members of the extended family (Frank 1995b) and the broader contexts of the environing society as well as the presence of other groups related to the global Chinese Diaspora.

Given the complexity of identifying the Chinese-Vietnamese as a distinct population group, this dissertation looks at all of the factors identified by Broeder and Extra. First, through the results of an anonymous questionnaire distributed to approximately 250 students in English as a Second Language classes, I explore the demographic variables of nationality and birth country, as well as language networks. Additional characteristics related to general education and language education as well as patterns of residence are examined. Second, through information collected in semi-structured interviews of Chinese-Vietnamese young adults, I create profiles using narratives related to the participants experiences, attitudes and beliefs related to their perceived ethnic, linguistic, and educational identities.

Linguistic Diversity and the Sociolinguistic Surveys

As noted above, the first question addressed by this research project is that of identity. As outlined above, Broeder and Extra (1999) have suggested at least four different criteria as indicators of the definition and identification of population groups in a multilingual society. Moreover, Nicholas (1994) notes that anonymous written questionnaires are advantageous in the measurement of linguistic diversity because they encourage participants to report on languages that might otherwise be backgrounded due to the influence of the social context or the influence of the researcher on the attitudes of the participants. Moreover, Nicholas notes that the inclusion of questions about English in multilingual settings in Anglophone settings and the use of terms such as "first language" and "second languages" bias the findings of linguistic diversity surveys in that they lead participants to assume there is an underlying agenda in the survey.

Sociolinguistic surveys have been extensively used for language description and language planning purposes. Historically, survey research has sought to determine characteristics of entire populations. Cooper (1975; see also Eastman, 1983) categorized sociolinguistic surveys into micro- and macro-level surveys. Both micro- and macro-level surveys measure language behavior, including proficiency, acquisition, and usage, as well as behavior toward language, both attitudinal and implementational. Micro-level surveys focus on particularistic aspects of language, such as William Labov's studies of language variation in New York and on Martha's Vineyard (Labov, 1972). Macro-level surveys examine what languages or language varieties different groups of speakers know (proficiency), the order in which they learned them (acquisition), and the contexts in which they use them (usage) (Cooper, 1975:30).

Sociolinguistic surveys are often coupled with other means of data collection in the process of language planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) argue that sociolinguistic surveys are key in understanding a language situation. However, other forms of data collection are also important. These methods may include: historical analyses, language planning evaluation, cost analyses, corpus analyses, anthropological linguistics, ethnographies of communication. These methods may be used for collecting data for language planning in national, regional or community settings, and they can be applied, but often are not, in the context of language-in-education planning.

Cooper (1989) puts forth a scheme for understanding particular language situations. A descriptively adequate scheme, according to Cooper, should take into accounting account who speaks what language to whom under what conditions and for what purpose. For Cooper, the gauge of success in carrying out language planning activities includes: (1) descriptive accuracy, (2) predictive adequacy, (3) explanatory adequacy, and (4) theoretical adequacy. Sociolinguistic surveys are generally funded and carried out by officials seeking to introduce change in patterns of language use in a community, region or nation. Consequently, for Cooper, as for most other language planners (for example, see Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, and Eastman, 1993) the goal of surveying language behavior and behavior towards language in most language planning settings is to facilitate processes of rational change and innovation.

Sociolinguistic surveys, however, are limited in their ability to adequately account for all of the factors involved in patterns of language use in particular communities. In the U.K., for example, "language censuses," or measures of language diversity have been an important means of gathering data on immigrant and other language minority communities, who tend to be located in urban centers throughout the U.K. Immigration in the U.K., as in the U.S., has had a profound impact on the educational system, and issues of English language support classes and/or provision of bilingual services have been sharply debated political issues from the 1970s through the 1990s. Nicholas (1994) noted that beginning in the late 1970s, and continuing through the 1980s, a series of linguistic surveys were carried out at various levels in the British educational system to determine the extent of multilingualism ('plurilingualism') among students, and in some cases communities, and to understand the particular needs of multilingual students. Between 1978 and 1989, the Inner London Educational

Authority (ILEA) carried out a series of biennial language surveys of students' home language use. These surveys involved teacher interviews of students whom they identified as minority language speakers, and included only data on major language groupings, with no mention of Creole languages. The ILEA were later criticized for not providing information on language varieties ("dialects"), fluency and literacy, multiple language use, and demand for community language services. In addition, ILEA studies relied extensively on teachers, many of whom were biased against the use of languages other than English, thus weakening the findings.

More detailed sociolinguistic surveys were carried in the U.K. out by the Linguistic Minorities Project, and later the Community Languages and Education Project during the same time period as the ILEA. The LMP approach emphasized the student's point of view, but still primarily employed teachers as interviewers. The LMP conducted a variety of surveys in schools in four urban centers in Britain, and later, on a more limited scale carried out more detailed community-based surveys (Nicholas, 1994, 1988; Martin-Smith, 1991; Alladina, 1985). While the LMP and the "Adult Language Use Survey" (ALUS), were very positive steps in understanding multilingual communities in the U.K., the studies also faced a number of limitations. Martin-Smith, who was one of the researchers with the LMP project, noted that sampling was a major problem. Because immigrant communities do not organize themselves in non-random patterns, LMP researchers conducting the ALUS research were unable to obtain an adequate sample from which generalizations could be drawn. Moreover, researchers faced numerous misunderstandings because of their lack of understanding of the cultural and social settings context of various immigrant communities. Martin-Smith recommends that empirical sociolinguistic survey work "should be grounded in social and cultural analysis" and that "decisions about the scope of empirical work need to draw on that analysis" (1991: 48). In other words, to be effective, surveys of sociolinguistic minorities must be coupled with qualitative analysis of each community surveyed.

Another problem with the survey work of the LMP highlighted by Martin-Smith and Nicholas had to do with the views of multilingualism embodied in the survey. Asserted in the *diglossia* model (Fishman, 1967, 1980), commonly held at the time the survey was inititated, it was asserted that:

> …languages of bilingual communities are functionally differentiated. They are associated with distinct domains of use. *Diglossia* refers to the community norms for language allocation across domains. Language use among individual bilinguals is seen as being governed by these norms (Martin-Smith, 1991: 50).

However, research into language in multilingual communities has shown that language use patterns do not neatly distribute themselves across the domains, as suggested by the *diglossia* model (see also Fasold, 1984). Both Martin-Smith and, more forcefully, Nicholas contend that lack of community involvement in the survey skewed the findings of the quantitative analysis.

Nicholas (1994) also discussed four college language diversity surveys given at different times at Colleges of Further Education. The first three of the studies were essentially smaller in-house needs analysis of library and language support services for minority language speakers. Nicholas highlighted the fourth linguistic diversity survey, conducted at Hammersmith and West London from 1986-1987. The broad aims of the survey were "data gathering," "curriculum change," "awareness raising," and "ethnography." The survey was more ambitious in that the goal of data collection was to bring about policy changes and change in the curriculum so that it more fully reflected the linguistic diversity among the students. In this respect, the Hammersmith and West London linguistic survey was carried out as a form of action research. Nicholas noted that the survey reported much higher rates of multilingual students than did previous surveys because it was written and anonymous. Moreover, many of the teachers participating in the study reported that it greatly raised their awareness of the linguistic diversity represented in their classes. However, it did not achieve the initial goals of bringing about new policies or changes in the curriculum. Rather, it resulted in a spiral of dialogue which had a variety of effects analyzed by Nicholas in his dissertation.

Based on his analysis of the ILEA, LMP, ALUS and college surveys of linguistic diversity in the U.K. and at specific institutions in the U.K., Nicholas (1994) made a number of recommendations for sociolinguistic surveys:

- Sociolinguistic surveys, when employed, should make use of anonymous, written questionnaires, rather than face-to-face interviews by teachers without special training.
- "Low status" or "labeled as dialect" languages should be foregrounded in the survey, given the propensity of students who speak these language varieties not to report using them because these spoken forms are stigmatized in the social environment.
- Sociolinguistic surveys of language diversity should not include measures of English proficiency because this suggests to participants that the survey embodies an underlying agenda other than a description of multilingual speakers
- Terms such as "home language" or "first language" should be avoided because they create a false dichotomy of "bilingualism," when in fact participants may employ a variety of "home" languages or may have more than one "first" language.
- Measures of literacy as well as ability to speak and understand should be included in sociolinguistic surveys.

- Language survey data must be interpreted "carefully, and with scrutiny directed to the context of the discourse in which such information was gathered" (p.126).
- Language diversity surveys should be followed up with longitudinal studies of language use/diversity, analyses of the ideological context shaping respondents' data, and "awareness-raising activities" in the social context.

The recommendations of Nicholas and Martin-Smith have, in part, shaped the language diversity survey developed for the study of language diversity among Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

Language Diversity Chinese-Vietnamese Students at Pasadena City College

The *Language Background Questionnaire* developed for this dissertation (see Appendix B) was written, anonymous, and voluntary. Moreover, it was broadly designed for all language groups, not just Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Based previous research (Frank, 1995a) and personal observations, Chinese languages were foregrounded because languages other than Mandarin or Cantonese, which are often considered lower status, and therefore backgrounded, were likely to be underreported.

The *Language Background Questionnaire* included explicit questions of fluency and literacy. Measures of fluency in English were avoided by design. Questions of fluency and literacy were limited to languages other than English, though respondents were free to include English, as well, if they desired. Participants were asked to list each of the languages that they were able to speak. If they did not know the name of the language "in English," they were encouraged to report in an alternate script (especially Chinese) if they knew it, or to use a phonetic representation of the language assisted by the survey facilitator if necessary. Participants were asked to report their fluency in each language that they listed on a four-point scale: (1) "I know a few words," (2) "I can understand a little, but can't speak much," (3) "I can carry on a basic conversation," and (4) "I am fluent in this language or dialect." Participants were also asked to list languages that they were able to read. Rough measures of literacy were also given for each language they listed. Again, reading literacy was given on a four-point scale: (1) "I can read a few words," (2) "I can read simple stories in this language," (3) "I can read most newspaper articles in this language," and (4) "I can read high school or college level academic materials in this language." Reading, rather than writing or reading/writing, were chosen as the measure of literacy because some participants who knew languages using non-romanized scripts—most notably Chinese—might be reticent to report literacy, given the complexity of writing the script. On the other hand, participants not fluent in writing would be more likely to report their reading ability because of lower affective barriers to reading.

The *Language Background Questionnaire* also included questions which provide self-reports of language use patterns. Participants were asked with whom they were likely to use each language that they listed, but they were not limited to one language per domain. In other words, participants could report more than one language used among family members, for example. The domains listed include: (a) "I speak it with my parents, brothers & sisters; " (b) "I speak it with other family members;" (c) "I speak it with friends & classmates;" (d) "I speak it with people in my neighborhood;" (e) "I speak it with boss / co-workers;" (f) "I speak it with other people not listed here." Participants were encouraged to list all of the domains in which they used each language, and no domain was limited to only one language.

In addition to language data, demographic data on participants, their parents, and their grandparents were collected through the *Language Background Questionnaire*. These data included:

- General background information such as participants' year of birth, year of arrival in the U.S., and city and zip code of residence;
- Participants' primary and secondary educational histories, and any language training that they may have had in languages other than English;
- The educational and vocational backgrounds of participants' parents and grandparents.

The age data allowed for a calculation of students ages at the time of the survey, their age at arrival in the U.S., and the length of time they had lived in the U.S. Data on primary and secondary education shows the degree to which students were educated in one country or multiple countries, and the degree to which participants' primary and secondary educations were interrupted through family migration or other factors. The latter has been widely discussed as a predictor of educational success in the U.S. (see Collier, 1987, 1992, 1995; Thomas & Collier, 1997). Information on language training in languages other than English shows the degree to which families made investments in preserving ethnic identities and/or in a language of wider communication of benefit to the family or the individual. Finally, information on the educational and occupational background of the parents and grandparents allows not only for an insights into patterns of family migration but also to a rough measure of family status or class background prior to arrival in the U.S.

The Language Background Questionnaires were distributed to approximately 275 students in eleven English as a Second Language classes at Pasadena City College. A total of 254 respondents completed the questionnaires between March 1997 and January 1999.

Sampling for the survey was done on the basis of the number of students born in Vietnam, as evidenced by the names on the roster and the knowledge of the teacher. Sampling was targeted at those classes determined by name sampling and by teacher knowledge to have high percentages. Targeting was important because students from Vietnam, especially Chinese speakers from Vietnam, do not choose classes randomly but tend to cluster with certain teachers. Frank (1995a) found that 43% of Chinese speakers from Vietnam made use of Educational Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS), and were more than four times as likely as the next highest group—students from China—and more than ten times as likely as non-Chinese-speaking students from Vietnam to participate in these services. This factor is extremely important because participation in EOPS allows students to register for classes earlier than other students. Early registration allows the Chinese-Vietnamese to select certain teachers before other students. Consequently, in order to get a sufficient sampling of Chinese speakers from Vietnam in the most efficient manner possible, those classes which closed early and had higher percentages of students born in Vietnam were targeted.

Non-random sampling has significant consequences for interpretation of the data. Because samples were not drawn randomly from a large population, the results of analysis are not generalizable. Therefore, the data are discussed descriptively in Chapter 5, but the results are not subjected to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, the Language Background Survey formed an important basis for further research through interviews. Because nearly all of the interview participants had participated in the survey and were familiar with its goals and the kinds of information sought, they were more willing to participate and share their experiences.

The data drawn from the Language Background Survey are discussed in Chapter 5. Discussion focuses initially on students born in Vietnam, highlighting factors that distinguish Chinese-speaking students from Vietnam from non-Chinese speaking students. Next, three interrelated groups of Chinese-speaking participants from Vietnam are characterized according to their family backgrounds, their educational histories and literacies, and finally their spoken languages and language networks. The findings are then discussed from the perspective of the ability of each of the groups to maintain cultural capital in the form of Chinese language and education in non-Chinese-speaking social contexts.

2. *Researching the* **Meanings** *of Multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese Community: Recorded, In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews*

Research Question #2: How do Chinese-Vietnamese community college students view the processes of language shift and attrition that they see in their families?

In a small-scale pilot study of Chinese-Vietnamese college students, Frank (1995b) found that the families of the participants did not follow a simple linear path of acquisition from Chinese and Vietnamese into English. Rather, families made intentional choices to shift from non-prestigious "dialects" of Chinese, such as *Teochew* and *Hakka*, to the more prestigious language of Cantonese, but rarely to Mandarin, the *de facto* language of Chinese education and the official language of the governments of China and Taiwan. The heritage languages was useful for the group's economic and cultural maintenance in Vietnam (see Chapter 2), but after arrival in the U.S.—and in some cases before—were used decreasingly in the family setting in favor of Cantonese, which they believed offered more economic benefits but which still distinguished them from other groups such as the ethnic Vietnamese and identified them as Chinese. In addition, several of the participants, whose families had not learned or used the Vietnamese language in Vietnam, acquired a basic knowledge of Vietnamese in the process of their transition or initial adjustment to the U.S. in order to interact with Vietnamese neighbors and classmates, with whom they had increased contact. In short, there was a marked shift towards multilingualism, in which English, Cantonese—and sometimes other Chinese dialects—and Vietnamese were used separately in different contexts but are mixed in the context of the family.

Moreover, language choice is related to perceived opportunities in the context of an immigrant economy. However, for Chinese-Vietnamese community college students, these opportunities are dependent on fluency in prestige dialects of Chinese, and to a much less degree in Vietnamese, and they are applicable primarily to entry-level clerical, service, and sales jobs. There is a perceived ambivalence toward development of linguistic fluency in Chinese and/or Vietnamese since the long-term benefits of immigrant-based opportunities are limited, but other equivalent opportunities in monolingual English settings were either more difficult to obtain or required more fluency in English than partipants could demonstrate.

In Frank (1995b), the participants were ambivalent about the need to maintain Vietnamese, even though it was commonly used in interactions in the family as well as in the community. However, they believed that the maintenance of spoken Chinese was important because it was more deeply connected to their heritage and perceived opportunities in the immigrant community. Moreover, the prestige of Cantonese was reinforced through media, particularly movies/videos and music from Hong Kong, and through the perceived economic successes of the Chinese diaspora (see Nonini, 1997 for further discussion of this belief). Literacy in Chinese or Vietnamese, however, was not perceived as important. The participants' narratives pointed to pragmatic beliefs about the relative economic advantages of certain spoken languages, advantages which to not extend to written forms of the language. Thus, Frank (1995b) identified a number of contradictory beliefs about language, which are to be studied more in-depth in this dissertation.

This dissertation first addresses the question of how Chinese-Vietnamese young adults view the processes of language shift that they view in their families as well as in their own lives.

Research Question #3: In what ways do Chinese-Vietnamese community college students construct a sense of ethnic identity through language? What meanings do Chinese-Vietnamese community college students give to language and multilingualism?

Language and ethnicity are not fixed objects which exist apart from human interaction (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; also, see chapter 3). Rather, ethnolinguistic identities are formed in response to the social context in which members of a group live. Language in this context is a means by which a group maintains its sense of "groupness" or "community" in the context of other groups around it in society. Moreover, beliefs about language are not only resident in individuals, they are distributed among members of the group and are reinforced through the use of language—through the choice of languages, the narratives and themes used by group members to make sense out of shared experiences, through shared metaphors and meanings, and so on. Language, therefore, takes on a symbolic value to community members. By understanding the meanings that community members give to language, we can gain insight into the basic identity and belief structures of the community itself.

The Chinese-Vietnamese are confronted with a variety of (hostile) social forces which seek to relegate them to "peripheral" roles within society. In Vietnam, the maintenance of a Chinese identity was one of the primary reasons for their expulsion. In the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles, with its large numbers of Asian—especially Chinese immigrants—the Chinese-Vietnamese are sometimes shunned by other Chinese immigrant groups because of their national origin (for discussion, see chapter 6). To the ethnic Vietnamese, the Chinese-Vietnamese are sometimes viewed as "traitors" because of their maintenance of their Chinese cultural heritage and refusal to identify themselves solely as Vietnamese. In the broader social setting, Chinese-Vietnamese often fall into the stereotype of Asian gang members or welfare dependent newcomers who take away resources from other more established minority groups. In short, they do no fit the mold of the "model minority" who assimilate and succeed in the context of American society.

Since language reinforces ethnic and cultural boundaries, the question arises as to why many Chinese-Vietnamese families do not just maintain their heritage languages but actually increase in terms of their linguistic repertoire, adding not only in English but also other languages/dialects, including Cantonese and Vietnamese. This runs counter to the belief that immigrants quickly abandon the use of heritage languages in favor of English. How do members of the Chinese-Vietnamese community view these changes? What meanings do they give to them? What do changes in linguistic repertoire show about the development of new ethnic identities? How do Chinese-Vietnamese community members feel that these changes influence their relationships with other groups around them?

Research Question #4: What do narratives about language and ethnic identity show about the experiences and beliefs of the Chinese-Vietnamese in adapting socially and economically to the San Gabriel Valley region?

The use of narratives, and in particular, story-telling is one of the primary means in which individuals and groups construct a sense of meaning out of the flow of experiences that make up their lives (Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992; Riessman, 1993; Gee, 1985; see also chapter 3 in this dissertation). Narratives are not representations of "objective facts," but rather are 'truths' of the narrators experience, which she adapts to fit a particular context involving the participants in the stories and the story-telling event, as well as the narrative frame provided by the listener the teller, and/or the broader social context (Shuman, 1986).

Narratives, however, are not merely personal constructions of meaning. They reflect shared systems of meaning and beliefs (van Dijk, 1993). These meanings developed through primary socialization into particular patterns of relationships (e.g., Heath, 1983), and they can be appropriated and/or manipulated by parents and family/community members for the purpose of identity formation, self-preservation, and social control (Langellier & Peterson, 1993). Therefore, embedded within the structure and content of narratives are shared beliefs about 'being-in-the-world' that are related to particular sets of socially- and historically-defined relationships. Gee (1996) argues that in narratives individuals enact certain socially constrained identities (see also Bourdieu, 1983, 1991.). However, through narratives, speakers can also contest the social roles to which they have been delegated and create a discourse of possibility (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992).

The process of analyzing narratives, then, is a process of progressive interpretation (Riessman, 1993), which begins with the context of the narrative

(Shuman, 1986). Interpretation through the transcribing and analyzing the narrative, encoding features of the discourse relevant to the study at hand. The features to be analyzed may include prosody, cohesion, discourse organization, contextualization signals, and thematic organization (Gee, 1996). Gee further maintains that at higher levels of emergent organization, discourse is organized according to themes and contrasts which lead to unresolved texts or paradoxes. These indeterminacies are grounded in particular sets of socially and historically shared experiences, and serve as "fertile ground" for interpretation.

The goal of narrative analysis in this study, then, is to explore the underlying beliefs and motivations of Chinese-Vietnamese community college students. Narratives relating to language and ethnicity are bring together a variety of social contexts, roles, and networks in which individuals enact and/or contest particular identities and the beliefs embedded in these socially constructed identities.

Research Question #5: How do beliefs about language and ethnic identity shape the educational experiences and career aspirations of Chinese-Vietnamese community college students?

Nonini (1997: 203-204) argues that narratives of success—such as mythical narratives of "model minorities" or narratives which celebrate the arrival of a small elite of extraordinarily wealthy Chinese transnational businessmen, heroes of a deterritorialized stage of late capitalism—"bracket, background or negate by way of *difference* … the strategic bricolage of transnational practices by those non-elite diasporic Chinese who do not enter into these narratives, except by way of backgrounded contrast because they are not 'successful.'" Nonini goes on to argue that non-elite Southeast Asian Chinese engage in transnational practices of flexible capitalism across the Asia Pacific. Further, he contends that diasporic Chinese seek to resist the localizations forced upon them by the overlapping regimes of power (Foucault, 1980, 1991) that the family, the capitalist worksite, and the nation-state, while appropriating for themselves the benefits of the localizations of these regimes on other disciplinable subjects. Resistance to regimes of power-knowledge takes place through the assumption of identities which are seen by their contrast with imposed official identities, such as "race," "citizen," "Chinese," and "native" constituted by these regimes and the flexible strategies of the Chinese to escape just such identification.

Nonini (1997) further contends that middle class Chinese from the Chinese diaspora in countries like Malaysia or Indonesia use education in English speaking countries to establish a beachhead for potential relocation of the family in the event that such a move would be advantageous to increasing the economic and/or cultural capital of the family. For middle class Chinese parents from Southeast Asia, investment in their children's education is a means by which economic capital can be converted into other forms of deployable capital—educational, social, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986)—with the long-term goal of converting educational, social, and cultural capital back into economic capital . In this line of reasoning, cosmopolitan languages such as English, Mandarin, and Cantonese, whose use spans national boundaries in differing but overlapping spheres of business, education, and culture.

In the case of the Chinese from Vietnam, the introduction of a socialist state economy and restrictive governmental policies directed at the ethnic Chinese business community in Vietnam beginning in the late 1970s drained the economic capital resources of the Chinese in Vietnam (Tran, 1993). In order to preserve what little capital remained, many families invested their last resources in sending a family member—usually an adult male or an older child—out of Vietnam by boat. The hopes of the family were that that family member would begin the process of capital accumulation again in an Anglophone country, preferably the U.S., with the goal of sponsoring the whole family to immigrate. While a "socialist market economy" was established in Vietnam, under the Vietnamese government's restructuring program of *đoi moi*, the ability of the ethnic Chinese to accumulate capital and reassert themselves into the economic sector in Vietnam has been extremely slow. For these reasons and others, many families have opted to follow family members to Anglophone countries, especially to the U.S., in order to make fresh investments in the education of their children, with the goal of repositioning the family with respect to new sets of economic relations both in a localized context as well as in a broader transnational context. Unlike some other Southeast Asian Chinese groups who have more economic capital, however, most Chinese-Vietnamese families have had to relocate most of the family members in order to have sufficient resources to invest in the education of the younger generation.

Given the significant investments by parents and other adult family members in the education of younger family members, how do younger family members view language and education? Do their beliefs reflect those of other diasporic Chinese families with regards to the deployment of cultural and social capital in the form of degrees and non-English language maintenance or development, for the advancement of the family? Or do they represent minorities who have become localized in their linguistic preferences—increasingly monolingual English speakers—and career aspirations which represent the needs of local economies?

The Chinese-Vietnamese were a large, influential minority group in Vietnam prior to the beginning of their exodus in the late 1970s. As has been suggested above, they were a classical middle-man group in the Vietnamese economy, and as such, they used language as both a resource which allowed them to do business as well as a source of ethnic solidarity which allowed some of them to maintain a distance from the Vietnamese majority. Since relocation to the United States, the Chinese-Vietnamese have had to develop new patterns of economic and social relations. This shift has necessitated changes in patterns of language behavior.

The questions addressed by research questions two through four of this dissertation are twofold. First, the social climate in which the Chinese-Vietnamese have chosen to settle—in this case Monterey Park and surrounding cities—is not neutral toward an assertion of a strong sense of Chinese-Vietnamese identity or maintenance of traditional language patterns; the climate is, in fact, hostile. Rapid demographic changes in the region (see Appendix F) have strained social relations and given rise to anti-Asian sentiment. Therefore, the first cluster of questions which this study addresses the manner in which language is used as a construct in the broader social context. Are accounts involving language used to promote the ideology present in the broader social fabric—e.g., fluency in English is the *key* or *tool* that leads to economic rewards or that restricting the linguistic repertoire to fewer languages or dialects (preferably just English)? Conversely, is language used to construct images of self, group, and ethnicity, which demonstrate resistance to the social control, as is arguably the case among Chinese transnationalists (Ong & Nonini, 1997)? These questions are crucial because the Chinese-Vietnamese, as (former) refugees have had to interact with social institutions far more than other kinds of immigrant groups. Second, class distinctions within the Chinese community (*c.f.*, Espiritu & Ong, 1990) further exacerbate social conditions for the Chinese-Vietnamese in the San Gabriel Valley area.

In what ways do Chinese-Vietnamese individuals and groups use language to construct and identity with relation to class distinctions in the overseas Chinese immigrant context?

Recorded, In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews

The second approach which I have used in this dissertation is the analysis of narratives related to linguistic, ethnic, and educational identities and experiences of Chinese-Vietnamese community college students, elicited through in-depth semi-structured interviews. A commonly-used strategy in social science research, the in-depth interview allows for the elicitation of participants' mental representations of perceived experiences and social realities. Semi-structured interviews have the advantage that they elicit responses on similar themes, guided by interview schedules, but they also allow participants to have some control over the path that the interview takes (see Bernard, 1994; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992)

The in-depth interview is a commonly used technique in social science research that allows one to obtain large amounts of data reflecting the psychological reality of interview participants in a relatively short period of time. The in-depth interview allows the researcher to access the interview participants' perceptions of reality, or at least their representations of reality in the context of the interview. Moreover, the interviews in this study were semi-structured. That is, they followed a guide in which questions were arranged from factually oriented questions related to background and practices to more emotionally-charged questions eliciting narratives of core identity and beliefs, but still related to language and education (see Appendix D). Generally questions at the beginning of the interview serve to develop trust between interviewer and interview participant by lowering affective barriers, focusing on his/her personal narrative of leaving Vietnam and arriving in the U.S. Background questions also empower interview participants by allowing them to initiate topics within the interview. Subsequent questions focused on the interview participants' language abilities and immediate linguistic networks. Progressively, questions dealt with topics related to interview participants' linguistic (in)security as well as language-related beliefs and motivation. Yet, while the interview loosely follows a structured sequence of questions, interview participants were free to redirect topics. Moreover, the content of the interviews was the interview participants' personal narratives. The interviewer cannot predict which questions will elicit useful narratives and thus is not in complete control of the interview. In reality, the effective interview is co-constructed by both participants in the interview process.

As Bogdan and Biklan (1993) note, the recording of interviews requires special consideration. Permission for recording was sought from the interview participant from the outset of the interview. Interviewees must be assured of complete confidentiality, that the tapes of the interviews will not come back to haunt them later on and that they have complete freedom in and control over the content of the recorded interview. Even so, some interview participants do not feel comfortable with a recorded interview and must be given the option of having the interview erased or not recorded. Finally, some interview participants who allowed a recorded interview may be so conscious of the recorder that it keeps them from being as free and as natural as they might be without the recorder. Nevertheless, for most interview participants, the conversational nature of the interview allowed them to relax and participate in the interview without being overly aware of or concerned about the small tape recorder.

Narrative

In the previous chapter, it was noted that narratives are types of discourse that are sequential and have clear beginnings, endings, and foci (Shuman, 1986). Labov (1972) suggested that at the minimum a narrative consists of a complicating action and its resolution. A fully developed narrative, in Labov's model, may also have an abstract, or summary of the story, an orientation, or the setting and characters in a narrative, a coda, or a general observation about a story, and/or an evaluation, or the narrator's indication of the 'point' of the story. However, as Riessman (1993) notes, a strictly structural approach to narratives does not allow for the analysis or more complex subjective texts.

In the preceding chapter, it was also noted that speakers make use of—either consciously or subconsciously—recurrent and preferred topical and thematic structures, lexical inventories, conventional text, schemata or stylistic and rhetorical strategies (van Dijk, 1993). Gee (1992, 1996). The thematic structure, according to Gee (1992, 1996), is typically formed around themes and contrasts, especially binary contrasts. At a deeper level, these themes and contrasts represent attempts to make sense of and attempts at resolving very real paradoxes or contradictions, which in reality cannot be removed. Gee (1996: 101; 1993b) suggests that "the speaker often discovers meaning while making it, and can, on reflection, come to see that she meant more than she thought."

Other researchers, as discussed in the previous chapter, have also pointed to the use of narratives to create or enact particular meanings. Individuals construct past events so as to claim makes sense of life experiences, to claim identities, and to construct life (Rosenwald & Ochber, 1992; Riessman, 1993). Widdershoven (1993) suggested that the meaning of life is dependent on stories.

Finally, narratives connect individuals in the broader context of groups, organizations, or whole cultures. Families, for example, use stories about family monuments to appropriate and shape listeners attitudes toward gender roles, age roles, and so on (Langellier & Peterson, 1993). Moreover, in the strong form of this argument, it is argued that the meanings instantiated by individuals are social meanings, and that individuals can only communicate through the filter of social roles which have unequal power relationships in society (Gee, 1996).

The context of the narrative, which involves social relationships in both the immediate and mediate settings, also shapes the development of the story. For example, the background knowledge and the social relations—and therefore the 'horizon of understanding' (Schutz, 1967)—affect the story as it is spoken and interpreted. Moreover, culturally-defined narrative frames allow the stories to be intelligible, while they also constrain the power of the story in the life of its teller (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992).

Narrative Analysis

The analysis of narrative involves various levels of representation of personal experience (Reissman, 1993): (1) the speaker attends to her experiences, and (2) tells those experiences that she considers "newsworthy" in the context of an interview with a researcher. The researcher then (3) transcribes the story, according to a predetermined transcription scheme, and (4) analyzes the structure of the narrative—the linguistic shape, the discourse organization, thematic organization, the context, and so on. This analysis takes the form of written text, which is then (5) read by the researcher, the narrator, or an audience outside the context of the story.

In this dissertation, the following procedure was used in the narrative analysis presented in Chapter 6. As soon as possible after the interview, the researcher filled out an interview report form (see Appendix E), including as much information as possible about the participant and the physical setting.

The next step was to listen to the tape of the interview. The goal of the first listening is to create a 'topical outline' with counter numbers for future reference. In addition, to providing an overview of the topics in the interview, the first review of the tape also allowed for the identification of important narratives or sections of discourse that were to be analyzed more in depth.

After the initial overview of the tape, the interviews were reviewed again. In the second listening, selected texts were transcribed. Both the interviewer's and the participant's words were transcribed. Then, the participants' words in extended narratives were re-transcribed with particular attention paid to accuracy in representation. Gee's model highlights the poetic features of the discourse. It is an ideal realization of the text, because it excludes false starts, pauses, discourse markers, non-lexical expressions, and other features of spoken language (Gee, 1996; Riessman, 1993).

Analysis of the narrative took into account, structural properties—discourse organization the other linguistic subsystems of discourse: prosody, cohesion, and contextualization signals. Moreover, narrative analysis looks at the thematic structure underlying a text.

Discourse organization: In Gee's model, the basic, universal units of narrative are lines and stanzas. Lines are idea units and are marked by particular pitch contours and pauses or hesitations in speech. These prosodic features mark clauses, simple sentences. Stanzas are sets of lines "about a single minimal topic, organized rhythmically and syntactically so as to hang together in a particularly tight way. The stanza takes a particular perspective on a character, action, even, claim, or piece of action (Gee, 1991: 94).

Gee notes that lines and stanzas are organized by speakers into larger patterns of discourse organization, which Gee calls sections, or which could be called episodes. These are groups of stanzas that are thematically linked together. Sections may also be bounded by non-narrative discourse, serving functions such as Labov's (1972) notion of evaluation, or the speakers comment on the text.

Thematic organization: As noted above, narratives are organized around underlying themes and contrasts. These themes and contrasts are evidenced through the linguistic choices that a speaker makes—use of any of the four linguistic subsystems mentioned above—as well as through parallelism or repeitition in the text. In addition, speakers may use key words, key metaphors, images, and other lexical means of focusing on points of interest.

Interpretation of narratives goes beyond the narratives themselves, taking into account the educational and social context in which the speakers live. Context is signaled through the ways in which the speaker structures her speech. Moreover, context is fixed, but is negotiated by speakers and speakers can change their minds about the context (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992).

Procedure

Initial contact with prospective interview participants was established through the Language Background Questionnaire. At the end of the form, survey participants were asked to indicate if they were willing to participate in a 45-minute-to one-hour-long interview regarding topics similar to those on the survey. Those who responded affirmatively were contacted, and an interview was arranged. In addition, at the end of each interview, participants were asked to introduce someone else to the researcher who would be interested in the topic of the interview. About one-sixth of the interviews came as a result of referrals.

The interview took place in a neutral, quiet setting other than a campus office. After the interview participant gave written informed consent to the interview process (see Appendix C), the interview proceeded, generally following the schedule given in Appendix D, but with flexibility for the interview participant to initiate and pursue topics of interest. Interviewees were given the option of having any portion of the tape erased if they felt uncomfortable, and they had access to a general summary of the results of the interview process, if they were interested.

After each interview, a summary report was filled out as soon after the interview as possible. Counter notes will be recorded with summaries of the themes of the interview. Particularly rich narratives in the interview were noted and later transcribed. To analyze the data, I first looked at patterns in the transcriptions, and the pattern will be in the form of variability and consistency. Second was an analysis of the functions and consequences of the text. This phase involved the forming of hypotheses about language functions and then search for linguistic evidence to substantiate the claims.

Researcher and Researched: Questions of Power

Research into language beliefs and patterns cannot be divorced from the social and political context of the researcher and other participants. In particular, I enter this research project in a position of social, economic, and political power with relation to the other participants in the research. The ascribed status of teacher, which has particular meanings in Chinese and Vietnamese Confucian cultural contexts which are different from those of teachers in Western historical traditions, allowed me access to Chinese-Vietnamese community college students, and it is likely that I could not have gotten the same level of access in a different context. A high degree of trust was built in the classroom with the students. In many cases, I have spent more than one semester developing a relationship with participants, and only invite their participation outside of the formal (American) context of student-teacher-classroom relations. This relationship will shape the findings of the research.

Obviously, in the context of the narratives collected for this research, understanding the relationship between the speaker and the listener—in this case, the interviewer—is critical. As noted in the first chapter, many of the participants were former students in my classes. As a result, there was an ascribed relationship that involved unequal relations of power. As a white native-born male teacher, I am privileged in almost every aspect with relation to the participants. Yet there are several levels of understanding. My wife is Chinese from Malaysia. I have studied Chinese and have lived in China. Those who participated felt that in the class context I was willing to listen without being critical of perspective. Trust was also developed through other pedagogical means, such as private journals. For about one third of those interviewed, I taught more than one family member in different semesters. Several sets of siblings were interviewed. Moreover, most of the participants brought in a mindset of teachers that was influenced by both Confucianism and Vietnamese culture, which places the teacher at a level equivalent to a parent. All of this is to say that, in spite of the power differential, a bond of trust was also built with participants. While this bond caused a transgression with regard to objectivity, it also demonstrated trust. A number of the informants shared stories and experiences which they could not share with their parents or other family members. This relationship of developed trust formed the context for most of the participants and the subsequent interview context. In fact, most of the participants were able to overcome the fear of having an extended conversation in English with their "teacher"—even though they were no longer in a class that I was teaching—simply out of a willingness to be helpful.

In addition, I have placed a very high value on the use of interactive methods which do not 'dehumanize' research participants. For many of the participants in this research, discussing issues of language and ethnicity raised their awareness of their own social context. Also, on numerous occasions, participants told me that their stories had not been told before, because they would be discouraged or even punished in the family setting for openly expressing their thoughts and experiences, nor were their experiences welcomed in the context of relationships with non-Chinese-Vietnamese or non-Vietnamese Chinese.

On the other hand, of the interview participants profiled through narratives in Chapter 6, only four of the seven had been students in classes that I taught prior to the interviews. All four had taken classes with me for two semesters prior to the interview, and all had completed their ESL requirements at the time of the interviews. Of the remaining three, two later studied in classes that I taught and the third, who was referred through another interview participant, had never taken ESL classes at any school. Finally, in all cases—including Chapters 1 and 6—pseudonyms have been used to maintain confidentiality for all interview participants

Secondary Languages, Interviews, and Narratives

The issue of language choice for the interview is a very challenging question with regard to Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Intuition would suggest that conducting the interview in a home language such as Vietnamese or Cantonese would elicit richer, fuller narratives. However, two factors which emerged from the pilot study with Chinese-Vietnamese interview participants are pertinent to the present discussion. First, Chinese speakers from Vietnam display in incredible flexibility in adapting to the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutor. Second, the Chinese-Vietnamese exist on the cultural between Chinese and Vietnamese immigrant cultures, on the one hand, and dominant American culture, on the other. Youth who have been socialized in an American high school setting, in particular, view English as a medium through which they can express their "American" experiences but without negating the "Asian-ness" of their voice.

An additional factor which influences the appropriateness of English as a medium for the interview is that privacy and trust are central values among Chinese-Vietnamese families. In many of the interviews, participants revealed that their family strictly controlled their contact with non-family members. Even in those participants who were freer to interact with non-family members, the themes of trust and betrayal emerged as very important in the interviews. The use of Vietnamese language would raise certain trust issues for many of the participants, as would the use of Cantonese for others. However, the role of teacher was an important one in many narratives as well.

And, the teacher figure in several of the narratives was actually a transformative figure in the lives of the participants, helping them to understand their identity as Chinese and Vietnamese. Also, the participants have limited contact with speakers of the dominant variety of English; therefore, the participants value the opportunity for speaking English.

Clearly, the choice of English for the interviews will impact the nature of the narratives elicited. Participants often use a restricted, developmental variety of English developed in communities composed predominantly of immigrants. As a result, a structural analysis of participants' narratives is extremely difficult.

CHAPTER 5: Who are the Chinese-Vietnamese?
Findings from the Language Background Survey

One of the most problematic aspects of understanding the Chinese-Vietnamese community is the issue of identification. Broeder and Extra (1999) state that there are four primary means of identifying population groups in a multicultural society: the nationality of individuals and their parents, the birth-country of individuals and their parents, self-categorization, and home language usage. This chapter outlines findings from a demographic survey which was used to identify general historical and linguistic patterns among Chinese speakers from Vietnam as well as their educational experiences and to identify potential participants for interviews. Findings from the interviews are discussed in the following chapter.

In this dissertation, information on the nationality of individuals, birth country information of individuals and their parents, and the relational patterns[1]of language usage in particular domains—here referred to as *language networks*—were collected by means of a voluntary, anonymous questionnaire administered in ESL classes at Pasadena City College. The findings of these questionnaires are discussed in this chapter. Individuals' self-categorizations, attitudes, beliefs and experiences, have been collected in the form of narratives and analyzed. These narratives and underlying issues of perceived ethnicity and beliefs about identity are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

---

[1] A *domain* is a particular of language use which involves particular language networks. The languages used in particular domains are determined for example by consensus and/or historical precedent, by the invocation of authority (e.g., an "*English-only* policy"), and so on.

Overview

The student background questionnaires (see appendix B) were distributed to a total of eleven ESL classes at PCC—approximately 275 students—between February 1997 and October 1998. Anonymous, voluntary questionnaires were completed by 254 participants. The questionnaires were presented as part of a dissertation project, but in most cases the findings from the questionnaires were integrated into the class in conjunction with other class activities.

In the previous chapter, I noted that the language background questionnaires had two primary purposes: to create a profile which would help in the identification of Chinese speakers from Vietnam, and to identify potential participants for the interviews to be conducted after the end of the class. Questionnaires were distributed to pre-selected classes, which had relatively high percentages of students from Vietnam. Findings from the questionnaires do not reflect "normally distributed" samples or randomly selected students. They do, however, reflect the tendency for students from particular backgrounds to choose the same instructors and classes. In particular, two groups of students have priority in the registration process and can more easily select classes with particular instructors and at particular times: new international (visa) students and students participating in the Educational Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS). As I found in Frank (1995a), Chinese speakers from Vietnam participated in EOP at a rate four times higher than the next highest group (43% for Chinese speakers from Vietnam to 10% for students from China and 3% for non-Chinese speakers from Vietnam). As a result, Chinese-speaking students from Vietnam have been able to group themselves together, resulting in the uneven distribution of students.

Survey Participants Born in Vietnam

Of the 254 participants in the questionnaires, the largest number—118 (or 46.4%) were from Vietnam. Chinese speakers from China (50 participants), from Taiwan (28 participants) and Hong Kong (24 participants) made up another 40.2% of those participating in the questionnaires. The remaining 13.4% of the participants came from other Asian countries (25); Mexico, Central and South America (6) and other non-Asian countries (3). Participants from Vietnam can be subdivided into two broad groupings based on their patterns of language usage: those who reported speaking some form of Chinese with family members (68 participants, or 26.7%) and those who spoke no Chinese with family members (50 participants, or 19.7%).

Participants born in Vietnam who spoke Chinese with family members differed from those who did not in a number of significant ways. First, while the majority of both groups originated in southern Vietnam, especially in Saigon (Ho Chih Minh City)—52.9% for Chinese speakers and 54.2% for non-Chinese speakers—a much higher percentage of non-Chinese speakers came from Central Vietnam—22.9% for non-Chinese speakers to 4.3% for Chinese speakers. In addition, the Chinese speakers did not list their city/region of origin at a rate twice that for non-Chinese speakers (40.0% to 20.8%). This last statistic was discussed in more depth below, but here it is worth noting that a number of those who spoke Chinese with family members were among those whose families left Vietnam to China in 1978-1979 and fled across the border into China. Many in this group were too young to remember Vietnam., their country of birth.

A second basic set of differences between those who spoke Chinese with their family members and those who did not had to do with age. More than four-fifths of the Chinese speakers were born in or after 1975—the end of the Vietnamese civil war. In contrast, approximately two-thirds of the non-Chinese speakers were born before the end of the civil war. In part, this difference reflects the influence of the special immigration programs under which the Vietnamese-speaking group came. Most of the non-Chinese speakers were either political prisoners or family members of political prisoners in Vietnam allowed to immigrate to the U.S. under a special program beginning in 1992, or had family members who were Amer-Asians (the children of American servicemen and Vietnamese mothers who were left behind in Vietnam after the war—see Chapter 2). In contrast, by the early 1990s, the ethnic Chinese, who had fewer ties to the American military presence in former South Vietnam, began to rely increasingly on the more common immigration pattern of sponsorship by family members who escaped to the U.S., many of whom left Vietnam by boat, from the late 1970s through the mid-1980s. Moreover, for the ethnic Chinese who did not participate in the special relocation programs of the 1990s, other restrictions shaped the immigration patterns. For example, according to a number of the interview participants, family members over the age of eighteen and those married to other Vietnamese citizens were generally not allowed to accompany families under U.S. family reunification programs.

Age differences can clearly be seen in the average ages of members of the two groups at the time of their arrival in the U.S. (see Table 5.1). Among Chinese speakers, more than 71% arrived when they were under eighteen years old. On the other hand, among the non-Chinese speakers, 81% arrived when they were age eighteen or older.

In other words, the experiences of youth from Chinese-speaking families were shaped by participation in elementary or secondary schools in the U.S., whereas those from non-Chinese-speaking families were not socialized through public elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. Among interview participants—both those who attended U.S. secondary schools and those who did not but had family members who did—high school was seen to have a significant influence on attitudes toward and experiences of socialization in the San Gabriel Valley region (see, for example, the high school narratives of Binh, Sandy, and Maggie in Chapter 6).

Table 5.1: Age at Arrival in the U.S. for Participants from Vietnam

	Chinese-speaking				Non-Chinese-speaking	Total
	Subtotal	Chinese-Dominant	Mixed-Dominant	Vietnamese-Dominant		
<14	10	4	4	2	1	11
14-17	40	14	10	15	8	48
= 18	15	3	5	8	41	56
Not reported	3	2	1	0	0	3
Total	**68**	23	20	25	**50**	**118**
Average Age	**16.30**	**15.00**	**16.79**	**16.88**	**24.21**	**19.60**

Another factor related to time and age at arrival was that survey participants from Chinese-speaking families tended to arrive earlier than those from non-Chinese-speaking families (Table 5.2). Nearly half of the participants from Chinese-speaking families arrived in the two peak years of 1991 and 1992. Slightly more than two-thirds of this group arrived between 1990 and 1993, with 10% arriving before 1990. Participants from non-Chinese-speaking families, on the other hand, arrived somewhat later, with nearly half arriving in 1994 alone. Nearly 80% of participants from non-Chinese-speaking families arrived between 1993 and 1995.

Table 5.2: Year of Arrival in the U.S. for Participants from Vietnam

	Chinese-speaking				**Non-Chinese-speaking**	**Total**
	Subtotal	Chinese-Dominant	Mixed-Dominant	Vietnamese-Dominant		
Before 1986	2	1	0	1	0	2
1986-1989	5	3	1	1	2	7
1990-1993	49	17	14	16	17	66
1994-1997	9	0	4	7	31	40
Not reported	3	2	1	0	0	3
Total	**68**	23	20	25	**50**	**118**
Average Year	**1991.78**	**1990.29**	**1992.05**	**1992.20**	**1993.29**	

As noted above, participants from Chinese-speaking families arrived, on the whole, earlier than those from non-Chinese families and had more experience in U.S. secondary schools, and in some cases elementary schools, than did their counterparts from non-Chinese-speaking families. However, all of the participants were surveyed while in the same levels of a community college ESL program. In other words, some members of the Chinese-speaking Vietnamese community took longer to reach equivalent levels of English proficiency than did their non-Chinese-speaking counterparts. Participation in secondary schools in the U.S. did not advantage most members of the Chinese-speaking Vietnamese community with regards to English proficiency. In fact, the more common experience of interruption in the educational histories of Chinese speakers from Vietnam had negatively influenced their educational experiences and aspirations in the U.S. Moreover, this negative influence has been exacerbated by the polarizing social climate of the Western San Gabriel Valley region. These are themes which will be explored in a more in-depth qualitative manner in the following two chapters.

A third distinction between participants from Chinese-speaking families and those from non-Chinese-speaking families had to do with patterns of residence in the San Gabriel Valley region. In general, participants from Chinese-speaking families tended to cluster in lower-income neighborhoods in and around areas of high concentrations of other ethnic Chinese. As can be seen in Table 5.3, participants from Chinese-speaking families were clustered in a relatively small area of the San Gabriel Valley region around Interstate 10, bounded roughly by Interstate 710 on the west and Interstate 605 on the east. A number of participants from this area came from the cities of Rosemead (17 participants, or 24.3%), Alhambra (17 participants, or 24.3%), Monterey Park (11 participants, or 15.7%), and San Gabriel (8 participants, or 11.4%). In addition, six participants (8.6%) lived in Los Angeles zip code 90031, the region that includes part of Chinatown and Lincoln Heights.

Table 5.3: Top Five Cities of Residence for Participants from Vietnam

Chinese-speaking				**Non-Chinese-speaking** (n=50)
Combined (n=68)	Chinese-Dominant (n=23)	Mixed-Dominant (n=20)	Vietnamese-Dominant (n=25)	
1. Rosemead (17)	1. Rosemead (7)	1. Alhambra (7)	1. Rosemead (8)	**1. El Monte** (12)
2. Alhambra (17)	2. LA-90031 (5)	2. Monterey Pk. (3)	2. Alhambra (7)	**2. San Gabriel** (9)
3. Monterey Pk. (10)	3. Alhambra (3)	2. San Gabriel (3)	3. Monterey Pk. (6)	**3. Rosemead** (5)
4. San Gabriel (8)	4. San Gabriel (2)	2. Temple City (3)	4. San Gabriel (3)	**4. Alhambra** (4)
5. LA-90031 (6)	4. El Monte (2)	5. Rosemead (2)		**5. La Puente** (3)

In contrast, participants from non-Chinese-speaking homes more often tended to live in communities with relatively higher percentages of Spanish-speakers. More than one third lived in El Monte, La Puente, and Baldwin Park, cities with high concentrations of Spanish speakers. Another third lived in San Gabriel, Rosemead, and

Alhambra. The rest were scattered through East Los Angeles, Pasadena, and other cities in the region, some of which also have relatively large Spanish-speaking populations. Residence in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods and schools also led to a much higher incidence of Spanish speaking among non-Chinese speakers, with nearly one-third reporting the ability to speak some Spanish. This was a marked contrast to participants from Chinese-speaking homes, only three of whom (4%) reported speaking even a few words of Spanish.

Differences in age, residence, and patterns of socialization, especially participation in school and support through differing (U.S.) governmental programs, point to divergent patterns of adaptation to the San Gabriel Valley region, and consequently, different paths of language acquisition. Schumann (1976, 1978, 1986) suggests that factors such as power relationships, adaptation strategies, and sharing of secondary social institutions, along with the size, coherence, and congruence of the minority language speaking community, and other social factors, can increase or decrease the likelihood of a minority language speaker's acquiring the dominant language. In the case of Chinese speakers from Vietnam, patterns of residential clustering in areas with higher concentration of Chinese speakers from Hong Kong and China suggest that preservation of ethnic identity and ties to co-ethnics from Hong Kong and China (at least in terms of shared social institutions) has hindered their acquisition of English. This is especially true for those Chinese speakers from Vietnam who have not had access to secondary schooling in the U.S.

However, the reasons for the Chinese-Vietnamese to settle in the San Gabriel Valley were related to economics as much as it was to ethnic solidarity. Frank (1995a) found that among students in ESL classes at Pasadena City College, Chinese speakers from Vietnam were much more likely to live with their nuclear family than were other Asian groups, including non-Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Moreover, numerous interviewees noted that they moved to the San Gabriel Valley region for two main purposes: to join family members who had already settled in the region and offered to provide assistance to the newer arrivals and to allow older family members, usually parents, to find work. The implications of the economic and social impetus for the Chinese-Vietnamese to come to the San Gabriel Valley are explored in more depth in Chapters 6 and 7. Yet at this point it should be noted that ties with the broader Chinese immigrant economy in the San Gabriel Valley caused them to be more isolated linguistically and socially than were the ethnic Vietnamese.

Chinese Speakers from Vietnam

Chinese-speaking participants from Vietnam do not represent a single, coherent group. Rather, on the basis of interrelated linguistic and socio-economic factors, Chinese speakers from Vietnam can be grouped into three general categories. On the participant background questionnaire, participants were asked which languages they knew, how well they knew each language, with whom they used each language, and which languages they were able to read. Based on responses to these questions, participants born in Vietnam who spoke some type of Chinese with family members (n=68) can be classified into three roughly equally-sized categories: (1) those who reported that they were most fluent in a Chinese language, or *Chinese-dominant* participants (n=23); (2) those who reported that they were equally fluent in a Chinese language and Vietnamese, or *mixed-dominant* participants (n=20); and (3) those who reported that they were most fluent in Vietnamese but who also spoke a Chinese language in the context of family (n=25). Grouping participants in this way highlights certain tendencies that influence the discussion of the meanings of languages for different Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

However, the three groups of Chinese speakers from Vietnam are not fixed or static categories. As the narratives discussed in chapter 6 demonstrate, language resources were distributed among family members, who had had varying access to education in Chinese, Vietnamese, and/or English[2]. Moreover, the experiences and beliefs were interdependent, shaped not only by the minority status of the Chinese-Vietnamese communities in the U.S. and Vietnam but also by internal class and other economic divisions. Therefore, categorizing Chinese-speaking participants born in Vietnam in this manner serves to illuminate several important trends and distinctions found within the Chinese-Vietnamese community, trends which are developed more fully in the subsequent discussion of interview-based narratives.

In addition to the linguistic distinctives discussed below, the three groupings of Chinese-speaking participants from Vietnam display differing traits according to their parents' vocational and educational backgrounds, their age and time of arrival in the U.S., and their patterns of residence in the San Gabriel Valley region. When taken together with the linguistic backgrounds of these groups of participants, the tendencies of these groups suggest a relationship between socio-economic backgrounds and language practices.

---

[2] One of the findings of Frank (1995b) was that because of the nature of the refugee experience, the family – and therefore linguistic – networks of Chinese-Vietnamese families extended beyond Vietnam, China, the U.S., and other Anglophone countries, to other European nations, such as Germany and France, that received refugees in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, non-English, -Chinese, and –Vietnamese language resources were not sought after as much because of the cultural dominance of English and Chinese, and the prevalence of Vietnamese.

Table 5.4: Chinese-speaking Participants by Parents' Occupation in Vietnam

	Chinese-Dominant (n=23*)	Mixed-dominant (n=24*)	Vietnamese-Dominant (n=25*)	Total
Business/Sales	9 (39%)	17 (67%)	19 (73%)	45 (62%)
Labor (semi-, unskilled)	6 (26%)	4 (19%)	0 (0%)	10 (14%)
Agriculture	3 (13%)	0 (0%)	3 (12%)	6 (8%)
Other	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	2 (3%)
Unknown/unlisted	4 (17%)	3 (14%)	3 (12%)	10 (14%)

* Note: some participants listed more than one occupation for their parents

First, the educational and occupational backgrounds of participants differentiate the three groupings on several levels. In Chapter 3 it was noted that the Chinese community in Vietnam was very active in business-related fields. Among the parents of both mixed-dominant and Vietnamese-dominant participants, business and sales occupations were by far the most common, with 67% of the former and 73% of the latter participating in these occupations (see Table 5.4). In contrast, the parents of Chinese-dominant participants were much more likely than those of participants from the other groups to participate in semi-skilled or unskilled labor jobs or to be farmers. Similarly, the educational levels of the parents of Chinese-dominant speakers were somewhat lower than those of the other two groups, with only about one third of the Chinese-dominant participants' receiving a secondary-level education (see Table 5.5), as compared with more than 40% of the Vietnamese-dominant and more than half of the mixed-dominant parents. Consequently, of the three groups, Chinese-dominant speakers apparently came from lower socio-economic levels in Vietnam.

Table 5.5: Chinese-speaking Participants by Parents' Educational Level

	Chinese-Dominant (n=25*)	Mixed-dominant (n=20*)	Vietnamese-Dominant (n=27*)	Total
Post-secondary	4 (16%)	1 (5%)	3 (11%)	8 (11%)
Secondary	5 (20%)	10 (50%)	8 (30%)	23 (32%)
Primary	10 (40%)	3 (15%)	8 (30%)	21 (29%)
None	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	3 (4%)
Unknown/unlisted	5 (20%)	6 (30%)	6 (22%)	17 (24%)

* Note: Some participants listed educational backgrounds separately for both of their parents.

The three groups also demonstrate different tendencies in terms of their geographical origin in Vietnam. Among the mixed- and Chinese-dominant groups, Saigon was the most commonly listed city or region of origin, with 55% and 26%, respectively, originating in the former capital city of South Vietnam. In contrast, the Vietnamese-dominant group more often originated in other parts of Vietnam—either in the extreme South (28%) or Central Vietnam (12%)—rather than Saigon (24%). In addition, more than half of the Chinese-dominant participants did not provide information for the city or region in which they were born in Vietnam. Yet, nearly one third of this group—half of those who did not list their birth city—noted that they were educated in China, and all but one came from *Hakka*-speaking families. Many of the *Hakkas* in Vietnam lived in the North in smaller villages around Hanoi. During the 1978-1979 border war between China and Vietnam, many of these families fled across the border into China and were resettled by the Chinese government in the provinces of Guangdong (Canton) and Guangxi. The survey participants were under five years old at the time their families fled to China, and did not remember the village of their birth. Moreover, as one of the interviewees, Binh, notes in narrative 1.1 in Chapter 6, among families who fled into China, discussion of life in Vietnam was often taboo because of the painful memories which were called to mind. Thus, younger family members had few connections to Vietnam other than their names, which usually retained their Vietnamese spellings.

The rough portrait that emerges from family background in Vietnam suggests that the three groups were differentiated both economically and geographically. One group tended to be urban dwelling and from a relatively higher status background and with relatively higher educational background—that is, the mixed-dominant group. A second group was split between an urban working class population, with some small business owners, and a rural (northern) population that migrated to China—that is, the Chinese-dominant group. The third group tended to live in small cities in extreme southern and central Vietnam, where the Chinese population was significantly less dense than in Saigon.

The differences among the three groups continued through their transition to the U.S. As discussed earlier with reference to non-Chinese speakers from Vietnam, the timing of the Chinese-speaking groups' arrival in the U.S. differs, as well. Of the three groupings, Chinese-dominant participants arrived earlier than the other two groups by an average of two years (see Table 5.2). In addition, Chinese-dominant participants were, on average, more than one and one half years younger than participants from the other two groups on arrival in the U.S. As a result, Chinese-dominant speakers were much more likely to have attended most of their high school careers in the U.S., generally in the San Gabriel Valley-Los Angeles region, and were socialized in that context. In contrast, approximately one-third of Vietnamese-dominant participants did not attend American public schools.

Another distinguishing factor was that the three groups differed in their residential patterns in the San Gabriel Valley-Los Angeles region. A high percentage of the Chinese-dominant group tended to live in poorer neighborhoods. For example, more than half live in Rosemead or Los Angeles 90031, where the average per capita income was at or below the poverty level. While the Vietnamese-dominant group also had a relatively high percentage in Rosemead (32%), nearly two thirds live in areas with somewhat higher average income—Alhambra, Monterey Park, and San Gabriel. Of the three groups, the participants from the mixed-dominant group tended to live in relatively higher income neighborhoods—Monterey Park, Temple City, and San Gabriel 91775 accounted for more than one third of the participants residences.

Paralleling the social and economic backgrounds of the three groups, participants' personal educational histories and literacies, as well as spoken language proficiencies and networks, point toward somewhat differing tendencies among the three groups of Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

Chinese-Dominant Speakers

Earlier, it was suggested that Chinese-dominant participants from Vietnam were typically young immigrants from working class backgrounds in Vietnam whose families settled in relatively poor urban neighborhoods. Most of the members of this group attended some or all of their high school careers at large urban high schools in the Los Angeles region, especially in the San Gabriel Valley, and just under one-fifth attended some middle and/or elementary school as well. Prior to their arrival in the U.S., many of the Chinese-dominant participants had fragmented educational histories—due to some families' escaping from Vietnam into China, and subsequently relocating to the

U.S., others receiving private tutoring in Chinese and not attending government schools, and still others reporting no education prior to their arrival in the U.S. All of these factors and more point to a segment of the Chinese-speaking community from Vietnam that faces numerous "risk" factors in their pursuit of educational advancement in the U.S.

Personal Educational Histories

Chinese-dominant participants in the survey displayed a high degree of fragmentation in their educational histories. Nearly one-third of the participants were born in Vietnam but educated in China (6 participants, all *Hakka* speakers) or Macao (1 participant). That is, their families were among those that fled across the border into China in 1978-1979 during the border conflict between Vietnam and China. Of the participants were raised in Vietnam six participants reported attending Chinese school in Vietnam, and five others in the U.S. Three of those attending Chinese school in Vietnam reported that they did not attend government elementary school, but attended private Chinese schools for four to ten years. The perception that Chinese school was not elementary school, or that it did not take the place of elementary school was a theme that will be explored further through the narratives. However, many of the Chinese "schools" in Vietnam were actually illegal classes made up of multiple family members who went to the teachers' homes for tutoring. With regards to participants whose families sent them to Chinese schools after arrival in the U.S., the question remains as to the families' motivation for maintaining a strong Chinese identity in a new country. Again, this was a theme which was explored through narrative analysis in the following chapter.

The educational histories of Chinese-dominant participants show other signs of fragmentation, as well. For example, less than half of the respondents in this group reported having a combined total of twelve years of primary and secondary education—the norm in Vietnam, China, and the U.S. In addition to the three respondents who reported attending Chinese school in Vietnam but not primary school, three others reported having no primary education in Vietnam and no Chinese school. It can be inferred, then, that either they attended Chinese school in Vietnam and chose not to report it, or the only experiences with formal education for this group came after their arrival in the U.S. Finally, only three participants out of twenty-three reported having their primary and secondary educations in the same country—two in Vietnam, and one in the U.S.

Figure 1: Chinese-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy

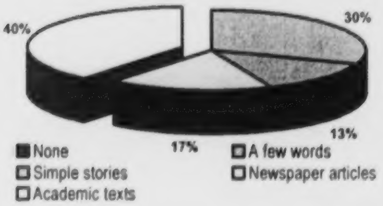
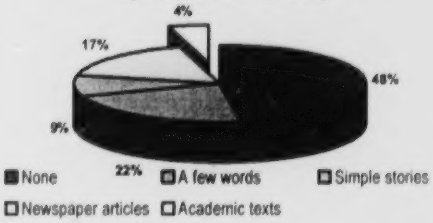


Figure 2: Chinese-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy



The fragmentation in educational histories among the Chinese-dominant Chinese-Vietnamese was reflected in their self-reports of literacy. Of the 23 participants in the survey, fewer than half (10 participants, or 43.5%) reported that they felt able to handle academic tasks *in either Chinese or Vietnamese* (see Figures 3 and 4). More than one fourth (6 respondents, or 26.1%) reported that they could only read a few words or simple stories. While the lack of literacy in both Chinese and Vietnamese was not surprising for two of the participants, who arrived in the U.S. at ages eight and eleven, it was more significant in view of the fact that the other four participants with limited literacy skills in both Chinese and Vietnamese arrived in the U.S. between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two. Since development of language and cognitive skills in the first language are strong predictors of educational success in non-primary language settings (see, for example, Collier,1987, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 1997) more than one out of four Chinese-dominant participants can be said to be at risk of not achieving their academic goals in an English-medium community college setting.

Spoken Language Proficiencies and Networks

Spoken language served as the basis for categorization of the Chinese speakers born in Vietnam because it highlights distinctions within the community. So, by definition, the Chinese-dominant group demonstrate the highest overall group proficiency in Chinese, both Cantonese and Mandarin of any of the three groups (see Table 5.6). Moreover, Chinese-dominant speakers had the highest overall group rates of using Cantonese and Mandarin in the domains of family, peer relationships, neighborhood, work, and other contexts. The use of Mandarin, in particular, highlights the importance of this language for use in the context of school, the most common context for language use of younger students. However, in terms of the average self-reported proficiencies of individual speakers of Chinese—as opposed to the overall group proficiency—Chinese-dominant speakers actually rated themselves slightly lower than mixed-dominant speakers of Chinese in *all* Chinese languages spoken by both groups (see Table 5.6). Finally, *Hakka*, as noted above, was the most important family heritage language among the Chinese-dominant group, and all but one *Hakka* speaker were found in the Chinese-dominant group.

Table 5.6: Chinese-dominant Participants by Languages Spoken

	Overall Group Proficiency*	Speaker Proficiency*	Use with family	Use with peers	Use in nghbrhd	Use at work	Use in another context
(1) Cantonese	3.7	3.7	86%	77%	39%	39%	27%
(2) Mandarin	2.7	3.0	36%	50%	14%	27%	41%
(3) Vietnamese	1.7	2.7	26%	39%	9%	4%	22%
(4) Hakka	1.0	3.7	26%	0	0	0	0
(5) Teochew	0.8	3.8	17%	9%	4%	0	4%

* *Proficiency*[3] here refers to a self-reported score out of 4 possible points: 4 = "I am fluent in this language or dialect," 3 = "I can carry on a basic conversation," 2 = "I can understand a little, but I can't speak much," 1 = I know a few words." *Overall group proficiency* refers to the pervasiveness of the language among all group members; *speaker proficiency* refers to the average self-rated proficiency of participants who reported speaking the language.

Proficiency in Vietnamese was the weakest among the Chinese-dominant group of any of the three groups. Even when Chinese-dominant participants raised in China are omitted from the group, the average proficiency was only 2.1, meaning that the average Chinese-dominant speaker born and raised for at least part of their childhood in Vietnam could not even carry on a simple conversation in Vietnamese. In addition, Vietnamese was much more important in the domain of peer relationships, not in the family, a pattern which is reversed for Cantonese among Vietnamese-dominant participants. An in-depth discussion of the relative lack of proficiency in Vietnamese among Chinese-dominant and some mixed-dominant participants accompanies several of the narratives in Chapter 6, most notably those of Sandy and Binh.

---

[3] Individual proficiencies are more complex than the data presented here imply. However, this measure allows for a comparison of the relative strength of a language or dialect in the community. The strength and domains of use are related to the resilience of the language in the community. Moreover, the relative rankings also reflect the underlying beliefs of individuals about their own proficiencies. In the present analysis, 'belief' was as important as 'reality.'

Table 5.7: Chinese-Dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages

	Able to Speak	Conversational Fluency*	Conversational Fluency* in Vietnamese and Chinese
2 Chinese Languages	95.7%	73.9%	39.1%
3 Chinese Languages	52.2%	26.1%	0%
4 Chinese Languages	0%	0%	0%

* *Conversational Fluency* here refers to a self-reported "fluency in the language/ dialect" or the ability to "carry on a basic conversation."

While Chinese-dominant participants demonstrate the highest proficiencies in Cantonese and Mandarin, the most widely used Chinese languages among the Chinese diaspora, their overall multilingual abilities were more limited than those of the mixed-dominant group. Nearly all of the Chinese-dominant participants were able to speak at least two different Chinese languages (see Table 5.7). However, more than one fourth of the Chinese-dominant participants could speak only one Chinese language fluently—most commonly Cantonese (17%)—as defined by their self-reported ability to carry on a conversation. Only one in five was able to speak Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese fluently. About half of the participants were able to speak three or more dialects, with the most common combination being Cantonese, Mandarin, and *Hakka*, spoken by 26% of the Chinese-dominant group. However, the fluent *Hakka* speakers, who all grew up in China, were the only ones among the Chinese-dominant group who could speak three Chinese languages fluently, and none could speak three Chinese languages and Vietnamese. Cantonese was clearly the dominant Chinese language, with 43.5% of the participants noting that Cantonese was their strongest language. While Mandarin was the second most common language spoken by the Chinese-dominant group, its use was more common outside of the family, among peers or in other domains, such as school. *Hakka*, *Teochew*, and Hainanese were generally limited to the context of the family.

Mixed-Dominant Speakers

Mixed-dominant Chinese speakers from Vietnam were similar to both Chinese-dominant and Vietnamese-dominant speakers in a number of ways, but mixed-dominant Chinese speakers were the most able of the three groups to preserve linguistic resources and to form coherent ethnolinguistic identities. Far more than either of the other two groups, mixed-dominant participants were likely to state that they were from Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City—55% as compared to 26.1% for Chinese-dominant participants and 24.3% for Vietnamese-dominant participants. Like the Vietnamese-dominant Chinese participants, the mixed-dominants arrived on average two years later than Chinese-dominant, with 1992 the peak year with 20% of participants arriving at that time (see Table 5.2). While the mixed-dominant participants were on average older than Chinese-dominant participants, more than two-thirds still arrived in the U.S. at age seventeen or under. Half of the mixed-dominant participants arrived when they were high-school age (ages fourteen to seventeen; see Table 5.1). In terms of residence, mixed-dominant participants were much more likely to settle in Alhambra (35%), while Monterey Park, San Gabriel, and Temple City each made up an additional 15% of the top cities of residence (see Table 5.3).

As shall be seen below, mixed-dominant participants took part in both government-sponsored schooling in Vietnam, as well as private Chinese schooling. More than eight out of ten participants in this group attended some form of Chinese schooling in Vietnam, and nearly one third of group members reported attending

Chinese school from five to ten years in Vietnam. Moreover, the reported literacy rates in Chinese among the mixed-dominant speakers were equivalent to those among the Chinese-dominant participants. This may be due to the understanding as noted by interview participants that Chinese schools were available in Saigon and rarely elsewhere in Vietnam. In other words, many of the families of mixed-dominant speakers lived in a developed urban areas with relatively more access to education in both Chinese and Vietnamese. Moreover, parents of mixed-dominant Chinese speakers were more likely to be involved in business and sales, suggesting a higher socio-economic class than Chinese-dominant speakers. In this context, school represented a form of investment for mixed-dominant parents.

Personal Educational Histories and Literacies

Mixed-dominant participants, like the Chinese-dominant, show a pattern of interrupted education, but not to the same degree as the latter. Among the mixed-dominant participants, more than half had eleven to twelve years of primary and secondary education, and one in five completed their primary and secondary educations in just one country, Vietnam. Another striking fact about the mixed-dominant participant group was their rate of participation in Chinese education. More than 80% of these participants noted that they received some Chinese education, in all cases except two in Vietnam, unlike the Chinese-dominant group, of which more one fourth attended a Chinese school in the U.S.

Figure 3: Mixed-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy

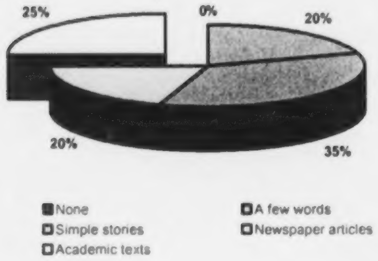
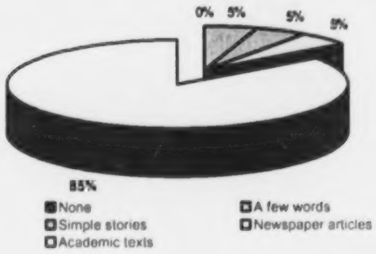


Figure 4: Mixed-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy



Moreover, as can be seen in Figures 4 and 5, mixed-dominant participants had somewhat lower rates of literacy in Chinese than the Chinese-dominant group but much higher rates of literacy in Vietnamese. However, the mixed-dominants' self-rated literacy in Chinese was on average equivalent to those of Chinese-dominant participants. On average, both groups can read simple stories and some newspaper articles. However, the rate of literacy in Vietnamese was dramatically different. On average, the Chinese-dominant group who were raised in Vietnam can only read a few words in Vietnamese, whereas the mixed-dominant group can read newspaper articles and some academic texts. In fact, the self-reported Vietnamese literacy of the mixed-dominant group was only slightly lower than that of the Vietnamese-dominant group (see Figures 5 and 7).

The educational histories of the mixed-dominant group differed from those of the other two groups after arrival in the U.S. Like the Chinese-dominant group, the majority (70%) arrived in the U.S. before they were eighteen years old. This means that they had at least some experience with the American educational context. In the case of the mixed-dominant group, two-thirds resided in the Alhambra Unified School District, a much higher concentration than either the Chinese- or the Vietnamese-dominant groups. Chinese-dominant participants, for example, were much more likely to live in an urban ethnic Los Angeles neighborhood, such as Chinatown or Lincoln Heights. Vietnamese-dominant participants were much more likely to live in a more heavily Spanish-speaking area, such as El Monte.

The differences in literacy rate in Vietnamese, different patterns of schooling, and different patterns with regards to Chinese education after arrival in the U.S. point to possible differences in the meaning of Chinese education for the two groups. In the case of mixed-dominant speakers, Chinese education appears to be an educational investment, which allows for flexibility in involvement with the economic interests of the Chinese community, whereas Chinese education was the only education that many of the Chinese-dominant participants received, reflecting more of a pragmatism with respect to education and participation in the economy, a connection which is explored in Chapter 6. However, beliefs about education and attitudes toward language and education are topics that go beyond the scope of the demographic survey. Therefore, the nature of Chinese education, and more generally, education is an important topic central to this dissertation, which will be taken up more fully through an analysis of related narratives in the next chapter.

Spoken Language Proficiencies and Networks

Among mixed-dominant participants, Vietnamese and Cantonese were the dominant languages, and were used in all domains, particularly among family members and with peers. The use of Vietnamese was even more frequent among peers (85%) than it was among family members (80%). On average, mixed dominant speakers rated their oral fluency in Vietnamese only slightly lower than did the Vietnamese-dominant speakers. On the other hand, the use of Cantonese was higher among family members (80%) than it was among peers (70%). This was a trend which was reversed among some of the Vietnamese-dominant participants.

Table 5.8: Mixed-dominant Participants by Spoken Languages

	Overall Group Proficiency *	Speaker Proficiency *	Use with family	Use with peers	Use in neighborhood	Use at work	other
(1) Vietnamese	3.9	3.9	80%	85%	35%	30%	25%
(2) Cantonese	3.2	3.9	80%	70%	40%	30%	25%
(3) Mandarin	2.7	3.2	30%	45%	20%	30%	20%
(4) Teochew	2.4	3.4	65%	20%	10%	0%	15%
(5) Fukkien	0.3	3.0	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%

- *Proficiency*[4] here refers to a self-reported score out of 4 possible points. 4 = "I am fluent in this language or dialect," 3 = "I can carry on a basic conversation," 2 = "I can understand a little, but I can't speak much," 1 = I know a few words" *Overall group proficiency* refers to the pervasiveness of the language among all group members; *speaker proficiency* refers to the average self-rated proficiency of participants who reported speaking the language.

In addition to Cantonese and Vietnamese, Mandarin and Teochew were also important languages. Mandarin was spoken by 85% of the participants, and 35% of the participants noted that the spoke it equally as well as they spoke Cantonese, Teochew, and/or other Chinese languages. Teochew, spoken by 70% of mixed-dominant participants, was also an important family language among this group. Moreover, it was the strongest Chinese language spoken by nearly half of the participants. In fact, on average individuals rated their proficiency in Teochew higher than the average for Mandarin. Finally, the average ratings that mixed-dominant gave their proficiency in the various Chinese languages was in every case higher than the averages for the other two groups for every Chinese language that they shared in common.

---

[4] Individual proficiencies are more complex than the data presented here imply. However, this measure allows for a comparison of the relative strength of a language or dialect in the community. The strength and domains of use are related to the resilience of the language in the community. Moreover, the relative rankings also reflect the underlying beliefs of individuals about their own proficiencies. In the present analysis, 'belief' was as important as 'reality.'

Table 5.9: Mixed-dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages

	Able to Speak	Conversational Fluency*	Conversational Fluency* in Vietnamese and Chinese
2 Chinese Languages	85%	75%	75%
3 Chinese Languages	55%	30%	30%
4 Chinese Languages	20%	10%	10%

* *Conversational Fluency* here refers to a self-reported "fluency in the language/dialect" or the ability to "carry on a basic conversation."

Vietnamese-Dominant Speakers

As noted above, Vietnamese-dominant participants were generally older than the Chinese-dominant, similar to the mixed-dominant, and they tended to come from families involved in business in smaller cities in southern or central Vietnam. Vietnamese-dominant speakers included relatively higher proportions of speakers of Teochew, and participated in Chinese education at a level markedly below that of the other two groups. Yet, while the Vietnamese-oriented language networks and the high levels of participation in Vietnamese, and not Chinese education are outlined below, the perceived reasons for the shift to Vietnamese and the attitudes toward Vietnamese versus Chinese orientations are explored in the following two chapters.

Personal Educational Histories and Literacies

With an average of slightly under nine years of schooling in Vietnam, Vietnamese-dominant participants received more Vietnamese education than either the Chinese- or the mixed-dominant group. One-fourth of Vietnamese-dominant participants received twelve years of education in Vietnam, a rate slightly higher than the average among the mixed-dominants. Moreover, Vietnamese-dominant participants attended an average of just over two years of high school in the U.S. However, nearly four in ten did not attend high school in the U.S. Less than 60% of Vietnamese-dominant participants received a total of eleven to twelve years of primary or secondary schooling, which was comparable to the mixed-dominant group and somewhat higher than the rate among Chinese-dominant participants. However, Vietnamese-dominant participants were much less likely to have attended Chinese schools, either in Vietnam or in the U.S. Among those participants who reported the number of years that they were educated in Chinese, the responses ranged from less than one year to a maximum of five years, significantly less than the average among either of the other two groups.

The effects of the educational backgrounds of the Vietnamese-dominant group are mirrored in their self-rated literacies. All but two Vietnamese-dominant participants believed that they could handle academic work in Vietnamese. In Chinese, however, only one in eight reported that they were able to read typical newspaper articles, and only one rated herself as able to handle academic work. On average, Vietnamese-dominant participants reported that they were only able to read a few words in Chinese.

Figure 5: Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Chinese Literacy

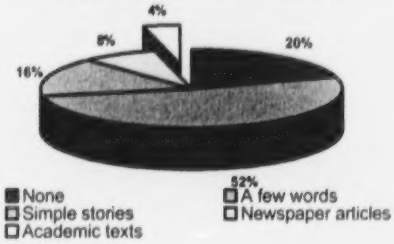
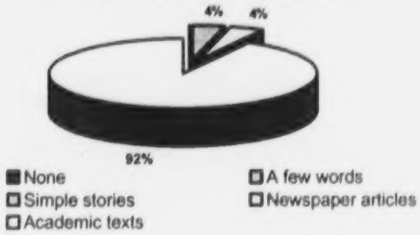


Figure 6: Vietnamese-Dominant Participants by Vietnamese Literacy



Spoken Language Proficiencies and Networks

By definition, Vietnamese-dominant participants rated their Vietnamese proficiency highly. However, usage of Vietnamese was primarily limited to the domains of family and peer networks. In fact, in almost all language domains outside of the family, Vietnamese-dominant speakers reported lower rates of Vietnamese usage than did mixed-dominant participants. Spoken Cantonese was the second most common language among the Vietnamese-dominant participants. However, on average, Vietnamese-dominant speakers do not rate themselves as fluent in any Chinese language. Cantonese was spoken by nearly nine of ten Vietnamese-dominant participants, Mandarin by two thirds, and Teochew by another third, yet even in the Chinese languages with the highest self-rated proficiency ratings, Cantonese and Teochew, Vietnamese-dominant participants did not feel that they could carry on a basic conversation but could only understand a few words.

Table 5.10: Vietnamese-dominant Participants by Spoken Languages

	Overall Group Proficiency*	Speaker Proficiency*	Use with family	Use with peers	Use in nghbrhd	Use at work	Other
(1) Vietnamese	4.0	4.0	88%	84%	28%	16%	32%
(2) Cantonese	2.1	2.4	52%	64%	32%	24%	28%
(3) Mandarin	1.3	1.9	20%	36%	12%	16%	20%
(4) Teochew	1.0	2.4	36%	16%	0%	0%	8%
(5) Hainanese	0.4	2.3	12%	0%	0%	0%	4%

* *Proficiency*[5] here refers to a self-reported score out of 4 possible points: 4 = "I am fluent in this language or dialect," 3 = "I can carry on a basic conversation," 2 = "I can understand a little, but I can't speak much," 1 = I know a few words" *Overall group proficiency* refers to the pervasiveness of the language among all group members; *speaker proficiency* refers to the average self-rated proficiency of participants who reported speaking the language.

In terms of multilingual fluency, more than half of the Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speakers reported the ability to speak two or more dialects. However, only a small percentage—13.5%—reported that they were conversationally fluent in two or more dialects. Similarly, nearly one third of the participants noted that they could speak at least three dialects, but only one participant was actually fluent in three or more dialects. Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speakers were much less able to maintain fluency in Chinese than other groups.

---

[5] Individual proficiencies are more complex than the data presented here imply. However, this measure allows for a comparison of the relative strength of a language or dialect in the community. The strength and domains of use are related to the resilience of the language in the community. Moreover, the relative rankings also reflect the underlying beliefs of individuals about their own proficiencies. In the present analysis, 'belief' was as important as 'reality.'

Table 5.11: Vietnamese-dominant Participants by Multiple Chinese Languages

	Able to Speak	Conversational Fluency*	Conversational Fluency* in Vietnamese and Chinese
2 Chinese Languages	68%	20%	20%
3 Chinese Languages	44%	4%	4%
4 Chinese Languages	4%	4%	4%

* *Conversational Fluency* here refers to a self-reported "fluency in the language/dialect" or the ability to "carry on a basic conversation."

Among the three groups of Chinese speakers from Vietnam, the Vietnamese-dominant speakers had by far the lowest self-rated proficiencies in Chinese. However, it should also be noted that the Vietnamese-dominant did not have the same linguistic patterns as non-Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Most notably, nearly one in three non-Chinese speakers were able to speak Spanish, but only one Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speaker noted that he was able to understand some Spanish. Although weaker in their Chinese proficiency, Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speakers from Vietnam still paralleled the language usage patterns of the other two groups.

Synthesis of Findings

The descriptive findings based on the data obtained from the Language Background Survey inform the discussion of Chinese-Vietnamese community college students on a number of key issues.

Ethnicity: Chinese-speakers from Vietnam are distinct from Vietnamese speakers in a number of important ways, particularly in terms of residential groupings, participation in American public schools, and acquisition of other languages, especially Spanish. Vietnamese-dominant participants were closer in their social and cultural orientations to other Chinese speakers from Vietnam than they were to Vietnamese speakers, though their linguistic networks were oriented towards Vietnamese.

Social and economic background: Educational and linguistic orientations among Chinese speakers from Vietnam showed clear patterns related to geographic origins in Vietnam—Saigon versus smaller cities in other parts of Vietnam versus rural areas. In addition, the parents' occupational background in Vietnam played an important role in shaping the educational experiences and linguistic orientations of their children. Parents from working class backgrounds tended to maintain a stronger Chinese orientation than did those who participated in business and sales fields.

Education: Children from different backgrounds had different experiences of education in Vietnam. Among Chinese-dominant participants, there was a stronger tendency to have only attended private Chinese schools, whereas mixed- and Vietnamese-dominant participants were much more likely to have attended government schools in Vietnam. Mixed-dominant participants also had a high degree of involvement in Chinese schools, equivalent to the rate among Chinese-dominant participants. On the other hand, Vietnamese-dominant participants probably had less access to Chinese schooling than did other groups because they tended to live in smaller cities, away from the Chinese economic and cultural center in Saigon.

The differing educational backgrounds also led to different degrees of literacy among Chinese speakers in Vietnam. Among mixed- and Vietnamese-dominant participants, the self-reported level of literacy in Vietnamese was relatively high—approximately nine in ten participants felt able to handle academic tasks in Vietnamese. In contrast, a significant number of Chinese-dominant participants reported that they were not able to even read a newspaper in either Chinese or Vietnamese. In terms of

Chinese literacy, the Chinese- and mixed-dominant participants reported similar levels of ability, while the Vietnamese-dominants much lower levels of literacy in Chinese.

An important educational issue among Chinese speakers from Vietnam is interrupted schooling. This problem is particularly acute among Chinese-dominant speakers because of their lack of participation in formal education in Vietnam. In large-scale longitudinal studies of limited-English proficient learners in primary and secondary schools in the U.S., Collier (1995, 1992, 1987; Thomas & Collier, 1997) that the lack of an adequate foundation in students home languages greatly increased the time necessary for them to acquire English. Moreover, in the best of circumstances learners of English as an additional language take from four to twelve years to reach the level of their fluent English proficient peers in academic, cognitive and linguistic skills. In the case of many Chinese-dominant speakers from Vietnam, in particular, were often much less equipped than many of their peers from other backgrounds in American schools.

Multilingualism: The multilingual context of for Chinese speakers from Vietnam generally entails the ability to speak multiple Chinese languages and/or Vietnamese. As noted above, did not report acquiring other languages, such as Spanish (or French) as did non-Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Moreover, Chinese speakers from Vietnam tended to cluster in cities in the Los Angeles region that have relatively higher concentrations of other Chinese speakers; therefore, issues of Chinese language proficiency and maintenance continue in importance among Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

The goal of this dissertation is to explore the experiences and identities of Chinese speakers from Vietnam. Therefore, the issues outlined above regarding

Chinese-Vietnamese participants' socio-economic background, education, and multilingualism inform and are integrated into Chinese-Vietnamese narratives in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6: Narrative analysis

Introduction

As has been noted in several places above, this dissertation addresses two general kinds of research questions. The first set emphasis of this dissertation is the *extent* of multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese community. This them was explored through the use of linguistic diversity surveys, and the findings have been discussed above, in Chapter 5. The second emphasis of this dissertation has to do with the *meanings* of multilingualism in the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. In particular, four main questions guided this inquiry:

Research question #2: How do CV youth view the processes of language shift and attrition that they see in their families?

Research question #3: In what ways do CV youth construct a sense of ethnic identity through language? What meanings do CV youth give to language and multilingualism?

Research question #4: What do narratives about language and ethnic identity show about the experiences and beliefs of the CV in adapting socially and economically to the WSGV region?

Research question #5: How do beliefs about language and ethnic identity shape the educational experiences and career aspirations of CV youth?

Moreover, these questions were explored through the use of recorded, in-depth, semi-structured interviews, as described in Chapter 4. A total of 26 Chinese speakers from Vietnam were interviewed from March 1997 to October 1999. From these 26 interviews, seven of the interviews were chosen on the basis of two general sets of criteria: (1) the range of backgrounds of participants, informed by the findings of the linguistic diversity surveys, and (2) the richness and relevance of the narratives with relation to the above research questions.

In Chapter 5, the data from surveys of linguistic diversity among Chinese-Vietnamese students in ESL classes at Pasadena City College suggested that there were three main linguistic tendencies among Chinese speakers from Vietnam: Vietnamese dominance, "balanced" or mixed multilingualism, and Chinese dominance. Moreover, though these tendencies were not fixed categories, certain patterns of geographical origin, family educational and vocational background, as well as patterns of literacy and multilingualism are associated with each of the tendencies.

Selection of participants

The findings of the linguistic diversity surveys informed the development of narrative profiles that express a range of perspective and experiences among Chinese-Vietnamese youth. The dimensions of diversity—listed according to the number of participants fitting each descriptor—among the seven interview participants chosen include.

Table 6.1: Demographic Background of Interview Participants:

1. Linguistic profile	
a. Language dominance	
Chinese-dominant	2
Mixed-dominant	2
Vietnamese-dominant	2
b. Basic conversational ability*	
Vietnamese	7
Cantonese &	5
Mandarin	5
Teochew	5
Fukkien	2

Hakka	1
c. Ability to read simple stories, newspaper articles, & academic texts	
Vietnamese	4
Chinese	5
1. Family Background profile	
a. Parents' vocation in Vietnam	
Business, sales, or management	4
Semi-skilled or unskilled labor	2
Not reported	1
b. Region of origin in Vietnam	
Saigon/Cholon (Ho Chi Minh City)	4
Bac Lieu City (southern Vietnam)	2
Hanoi (northern Vietnam)	1
2. Experience in the U.S.	
a. Initial residence	
Los Angeles/San Gabriel Valley	4
Other (Arizona, New York, Northern California)	3
b. Age at arrival in the U.S.:	
< 14	2
14-17	3
>18	2
3. Educational background	
a. Education in Vietnam	
No government-sponsored education	3
Some or all of secondary school	4
b. Education in the U.S.	
Primary school	1
Some or all of secondary school	5
Adult school	2
c. Chinese school	
In Vietnam (range: 1-10 years)	5
In the U.S.	1
In China	1
4. Gender	
Female	4
Male	3

In addition, within the range of possible perspectives, two other criteria were also considered. First, the richness and appropriateness of the narratives elicited with a view to the research questions outlined above. For example, one of the interviews with the richest narratives was focused almost entirely in the past in Vietnam. While the participant provided invaluable insights into the conditions of the Chinese community in Vietnam, her narratives did not deal directly with the research questions at hand. In another interview, the data was very appropriate, but the information shared was extremely sensitive, and the interview participant spent half of the interview in tears. Because of the sensitive nature of what was shared, this interview also was not used in the analysis.

Selection of Texts

From the interview narrative texts were selected according to three general criteria. The first two criteria related to the sum of texts in a single interview. Within the possible texts in an interview, narratives were chosen which: a) highlighted key and/or recurring themes for the interview participant, and b) showed the development of the participant's thought or perspective. The final criteria had to do with the range of themes covered across all of the interviews. Certain kinds of themes occurred with more than one interviewee. Where this was the case, I sought to select narratives with limited overlap but with complementary perspectives. However, in all cases, I sought to maintain the participant's own perspective and voice, and this took priority over the issue of balance among participants.

Layout of Texts and Subtexts

As discussed in Chapter 4, each of the texts below follow Gee's model of lines and stanzas. The use of lines and stanzas facilitate analysis in three main ways. First, the use of lines and stanzas makes reference to the text efficient and unambiguous. Second, they allow the text to be graphically organized according to idea units (Chafe, 1980, 1994), or lines, and clusters of idea units, or stanzas. This further allows for the analysis of the development of topic or theme across the narrative. Since the focus of analysis is on topical development, linguistic markers in the text have been restricted. Prosodic features of the texts have been used primarily in determining text boundaries, and to a lesser extent on interpretation of texts, but are not marked in the narrative texts in this chapter. Where the speaker clearly indicated that s/he was quoting another person—through syntax and shifts in pronoun usage—quotation marks have been added to the text for the purpose of clarity. Similarly, in the limited number of cases in which the speaker indicated through intonation, syntax, and so on, that s/he was asking a question, a question mark was inserted into the text for the purpose of readability. Finally, in a very few cases in which the tape was unclear or inaudible, square brackets have been used to indicate unclear words or phrases.

The texts have been defined according to the ideas presented by the participants. In general the boundaries for texts are based on the completeness of the development of the narrative. When the speaker began to repeat the topic, the conversation lulled and a new topic was introduced, or the speaker chose to move on in a new direction which did not significantly develop the narrative in question, then the text was bounded.

In some cases, most notably with Angie, Sandy, and Maggie, subtexts are used to indicate either that two texts are parallel and I wanted to represent the parallel nature of the texts—as in the case of Angie's Texts 2.3a and 2.3b, as well as 4.4a and 4.4b—or the subtext repeats a core narrative[1] but is not adequately developed to be a complete text on its own—as in Text 2.1a, for example.

Finally, the texts are ordered in a way that highlights the speaker's thematic development of her ideas. In most cases, the position of the text in chapter section does not correspond to the order in which they came out in the interview. In arranging the texts in each section, I have sought to balance the integrity and coherence of the participant's ideas as they were originally presented with a readable and coherent presentation that develops across the sections of the chapter.

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter is organized into three main sections. First, in this introductory section, I have sought to frame the narratives according to key ideas presented in previous chapters. The bulk of this chapter consists of six narrative profiles of Chinese-Vietnamese youth. The macro-level organization of these profiles seeks to parallel Chapter 5, which moved from a discussion of Chinese-dominant speakers, to mixed dominant speakers, to Vietnamese-dominant speakers. Similarly, in this chapter, the first two profiles—Binh and Angie—consider themselves to be Chinese dominant, the second two—Sandy and Maggie—mixed dominant, and the third set—Hanh and the brothers Nghiep and Khue—Vietnamese dominant. Each profile consists of an introduction, five to eight narratives, each followed by analysis, and a general discussion at the end of each profile. Finally, at the end of the six profiles is a more general analysis and synthesis of the themes and variations that emerge from the texts.

---

[1] A core narrative is one which is central to the speaker's understanding of the theme, and one which is not extemporaneous but has been rehearsed and elaborated in other contexts prior to the speech event in question.

Narrative Profile #1: Binh

Binh is a 22-year-old immigrant from China, but he was born in northern Vietnam—in Hanoi—as were his parents. Binh's family fled to China in 1978, when Binh was three, during the period of conflict between Vietnam and China. Similar to a number of the Chinese-dominant speakers discussed in Chapter 5, Binh's family is *Hakka*. In China, they were relocated to Guangdong Province, where Binh's parents worked as tea farmers. Binh attended school in Guangdong, until, half-way through his secondary schooling, his family immigrated to the U.S. and settled in Rosemead, California, in the San Gabriel Valley.

Another family member, Binh's older sister, also left the country in 1978, but by boat. Binh's sister played an important role in the family's survival. While Binh, his parents, and three siblings were in China, starting in 1982, Binh's older sister in the U.S. helped them by sending money. After coming to the U.S. in 1992, Binh's family moved in with the eldest sister—who had been living in Rosemead for more than 12 years—along with her husband and two children. Binh notes that "they pretty nice to us / then they have a good time / they take care." Binh's sister and her husband helped Binh's family by providing financial support, helping them get enrolled in schools, and helping them get jobs. Binh and his parents lived with his oldest sister and her family for five years, and just moved into their own home a few months before the interview in which the texts below were shared.

Binh has no recollection of Vietnam, and his only connections with that country are his name and the refugee experiences of his family. However, even these connections, which seem weak from Binh's perspective, result in differential treatment by other ethnic Chinese peers. Unable to speak Vietnamese and be a part of Vietnamese social groups, and rejected by ethnic Chinese groups in high school, Binh developed the belief that it was his fate to be alone. As a result, both *fate* and *loneliness* (or *alone-ness*) are themes which figure prominently in several of Binh's narratives, and so are discussed in more detail below.

In Text 1.1, Binh describes his family's flight from Vietnam to China. In this narrative, Binh introduces a number of themes that will figure in his story in an important way. In this text, Binh begins to describe the *tough life* that his family has experienced. In the face of the difficult challenges of poverty, hard work, and government discrimination, Binh feels that he *has no choice but to accept the fate of a tough life*. A third important aspect of this text is that it is the only text in which his parents feature prominently, though other family members and friends are mentioned frequently elsewhere. This last feature will be discussed more in depth below.

Text 1.1: *From Vietnam to China*

Stanza 1

1. My father told me that
2. cause we are Chinese
3. cause my grandparents Chinese
4. they went- did went Vietnam make business

Stanza 2

5. but when Vietnam the government
6. found that we are not belong to the people
7. so they kick out
8. got go back to China

Stanza 3

9. like at the first
10. we are really poor you know
11. we have no money to support us

Stanza 4

12. and then my father work for the Vietnam government
13. my mother working like a farmer
14. so we are pretty tough on the life there

Stanza 5

15. actually they
16. something sad
17. I don't remember all they told

Stanza 6

18. they have the tough life there
19. so they don't wanna talk about it the tough life
20. they talk about it some
21. my mother sometimes quiet

Stanza 7

22. They first moved to Guangxi
23. and then we moved to Guangdong

Stanza 8

24. I think
25. at first the Chinese government give you to someplace
26. cause too much problems

Stanza 9

27. a lot of people moved to Guangxi
28. and then the people say enough

Stanza 10

29. and so go out to
30. so walk from train to
31. I think it's a big truck

Stanza 11

32. I remember
33. that we used to climb up the truck
34. and then to Guangdong

Stanza 12

35. Just like pass couple day
36. we have to got the paperwork

Stanza 13

37. and then
38. they divided the part and part
39. okay
40. and divided go to the Guangdong
41. and this part go to the Guangxi

Stanza 14

42. and then
43. we belong to the Guangdong

Stanza 15

44. you have no choice
45. because the government made a decision
46. so then you gotta follow orders
47. go up

Stanza 16

48. yeah my mother don't want to talk about it

49. so I didn't ask her

Stanza 17

50. then one day
51. when we moved into China
52. my mother didn't talk
53. too much of the history of the Vietnam

Stanza 18

54. but my father did
55.   my father didn't let us talk about it

One dominant image that comes from this narrative has to do with punctual verbs[1] describing the experiences of Binh's family and people like them. Binh's grandparents *did went* to Vietnam for business. In Vietnam, he noted that the Vietnamese government *found out* that they did not "belong" to the people there, and so *kick out* and that his family *got go back* to China. After they had arrived in Guangxi Province in China, the Chinese government *divided the part in part.* Apart from the decision of Binh's grandfather to go to Vietnam to "make business" governments are the agents of each of the actions. The cumulative effect of these actions is that they happened rapidly and without warning. They build up to Binh's statement that "you have no choice…." That is, Binh's family had "no control" over the events that caused them to relocate to Guangdong Province in China. In fact, the only agency that Binh acknowledges for people like his family—"a lot of people" including his family who "moved to Guangxi"—is that "the people say enough." Binh relates, "the Chinese government give you someplace [because] too much problems." The people in response moved to Guangxi, where the Chinese government divided them into part who stayed in Guangxi and part who were sent to Guangdong. In essence, however, the "choice" was no choice in Binh's mind. The Vietnamese government "kick out" and the Chinese government "divide the part and part."

---

[1] *Punctual verbs* express actions that take place at a point in time, such as "*meeting* a person" (for the first time), as opposed the *stative* expression, "*knowing* a person," which has no beginning or ending point as part of the meaning of the verb.

Underlying Binh's reflections on his experience is a clear sense of fatalism. The initial question that began these narrative passages was essentially a political one regarding "a border war between China and Vietnam." Yet the forces that Binh elaborates on in this narrative are essentially non-rational and outside his conception or control, not necessarily political. However, this fatalism is not focused on two "impersonal" governments involved in a political dispute. The most personalized parts of the narrative are expressed in Binh's usage of the pronoun "we". He first sees it in lines 10-14 to describe his family's poverty: "we are really poor… we have no money… so we are pretty *tough* on the life…." This is significant because immediately after this passage, Binh shifts to a less personal description of his parents and their move to Guangxi—"they have a *tough life* there so they don't want to talk about it." Obviously, Binh's description of poverty is not primarily from his recollections of his life in Vietnam—given his emphasis in lines 19 and 21, and elsewhere, that his parents did not want to talk about their life in Vietnam—so this is perhaps a more generic recounting of his life, including life in the U.S., as shall be seen later. Binh's next usage of 'we' is his most personal recollection in the text: "I remember that we used to climb up into the truck / and then go to Guangdong" (ll. 32-34). In between the two usages of "we," Binh describes his parents' move and the Chinese government's provision of means and directive to move to Guangdong. In this respect, the truck is perhaps a symbol of Binh's being taken to a place and his not having any control other than "climbing up the truck"—an experience that Binh views as iterative, not punctual. The personal narrative continues through his statement "we belong to the Guangdong." His fate sealed by a Chinese government decision and his body carried by a Chinese government truck, Binh depersonalizes to the informal "you": "You have no choice / because the government made a decision / so then you gotta follow orders / go up."

An important theme in a number of Binh's narratives, and already noted in the current narrative, is that "life is tough." In this first text, *the tough life* means poverty and difficult living conditions in Vietnam prior to leaving for China. Binh does not elaborate on what made life tough. Rather, here he focuses on the effect of the *toughness* on his parents. The toughness of poverty and leaving her home—Binh elsewhere notes that his mother is "complete Vietnamese"—causes her to become silent about the family's history in Vietnam. So the pain of the *tough life* makes the past—even family history—unspeakable for Binh's mother. Binh also adds that his father "didn't let us talk about it." In the only historical narrative involving the whole family, Binh's comments suggest that his parents' *tough life* in the past caused him to lose part of his historical identity. Thus, too, his parents' role is completely historical; thus, they don't appear in any of his other narratives, which are more focused on his experiences in his current social context.

After coming to the U.S., Binh spent his first four years in the U.S. attending San Gabriel High School, from which he graduated in 1996. High school was a very difficult experience for Binh on several levels. In Text 1.2, Binh returns to the theme of "*tough life*" as he describes his experience in school. In this text, he also begins to elaborate on what the *tough life* means for him in the U.S.: loss of social support leading to a great deal of uncertainty regarding his future.

Text 1.2: ***High school***

Stanza 1

1. Pretty tough
2. like when you didn't like know the English much
3. and you didn't know anyone at the high school

Stanza 2

4. so I think the first two years
5. I didn't learn much of them

Stanza 3

6. so only like stay there
7. and then see my brother
8. and miss the place of China

Stanza 4

9. cause a lot of fun in the China
10. met a lot of friend over there
11. and didn't meet them
12. so it's hard you know

Stanza 5

13. cause I think the better life
14. I had the most fun in China over there
15. even I am a young
16. but I remember the things you know
17. make me happy

Stanza 6

18. like here
19. everything's tough
20. push push you know
21. you have to work
22. and have to go to school
23. and nobody push you
24. but you think by yourself you know
25. automatically

Binh begins and ends this text with a mention of the *tough life* that he is faced with. At the beginning of the text, he notes that English language difficulties and not knowing anyone in high school made life tough. The result was that Binh felt he "didn't learn much of them" While a lack of English is a typical barrier for a new immigrant, Binh emphasizes his social isolation as a more important factor in his educational experience in this text.

The language that Binh uses to describe the school context in the U.S. also marks the differences in his experience. For example, when describing his school experiences in the U.S., Binh uses almost all stative and negative verbs—*(didn't) know, didn't learn, stay, see, miss.* Binh contrasts this with his experiences in China—*met friends, had fun, make me happy.* Moreover, use of active verbs give a much greater sense of agency—the ability to assert himself in the social context—in China, where as the stative and negative verbs reinforce the underlying tone of fatalism in the U.S. While the context of school is not explicit in Binh's comments about his memories of China, it can be implied by the overall context of the story. School life in China was fun and happy—"the better life" (l. 14.) However, his use of the adverbial "over there" connotes separation, signaling that life in the U.S. is worse, it unhappy, and it makes Binh sad.

Binh returns to the theme of the *tough life* in the U.S. at the end of Text 1.2. This time Binh notes that the sense of isolation he feels underscores the sense of obligation and drivenness that Binh feels. This drivenness is underscored by Binh's use of the verb *push* in stanza 6. "Everything's tough / push push you know" (ll. 18-19) … "and nobody push you / but you think by yourself, you know / automatically" (ll. 23-25). Binh does not locate the agency of the pushing. The obligatory statements that "you have to work / and have to go to school" (ll. 21-22) underscore that there is an obligation that has been placed on him. He is clearly underscoring the contrast with China, where, he seems to imply, someone else—perhaps friends and/or teachers—would push him. On the surface, Binh seems to be saying that he has to push himself in work and school, emphasizing the individualistic and meritocratic values of the American educational system. However, he undermines those values by adding on the adverbial *automatically*. In essence, Binh is saying that he is mechanically responding to an obligation that has been placed on him by the *tough life* in the U.S. This *tough life* includes struggling with a new language, and as was seen earlier, trying to overcome the effects of poverty. Survival, then, requires that Binh, along with the rest of his family do whatever is necessary, regardless the stress that this places upon him. And clearly in this text and elsewhere, Binh feels the stress of isolation and obligation to do his part for the family.

The uncertainty of language and the educational context—the *tough life* of school—has carried over to his college academic career after Binh enrolled in Pasadena City College. In Text 1.3, Binh discusses his (lack of) educational goals and his uncertainty towards achieving those goals. While he has thought about studying engineering at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona (Cal Poly Pomona), he expresses many reservations about his ability to achieve his goal. Again, the issues of isolation and lack of English skills play into this text.

Text 1.3: *Major and career*

Stanza 1

1. Right now I don't think so
2. I'll be thinking transfer something

Stanza 2

3. like if my English up a little bit
4. like 33B or 1A
5. At that time I will think about it

Stanza 3

6. transfer to Cal Poly
7. my first choice Cal Poly

Stanza 4

8. I think I love engineering

9. I love working alone by myself
10. I don't like other company
11. yeah do by myself

Stanza 5

12. cause everything
13. I trust myself
14. trust my knowledge
15. I don't trust people to handle myself

Stanza 6

16. it's hard
17. I really don't know which kind of job
18. it depend you know
19. I really don't have the idea right now

Stanza 7

20. Right now get my education up
21. get that first
22. the main idea on my mind

Stanza 8

23. it depend
24. like if a job that open for me
25. if I like it
26. I will do it
27. cause I'm a open people you know
28. any kind I will do it

Stanza 9

29. cause I very interesting in new thing
30. technology something
31. I will try that first
32. if I like it
33. I will be it
34. if not
35. I will drop it

Stanza 10

36. yeah I bought computer
37. $4000 nothing

Stanza 11

38. my family complain me
39. why you bought a 4000 computer
40. put it at home nothing use it

Stanza 12

41. I will use it later
42. that's why I took the two class computer

Stanza 13

43. I dropped it
44. they're basic ones
45. they're 3.1

46. Windows 3.1
47. but my computer's the Window's 95
48. a lot of difference

Stanza 14

49. when I try to work on the computer
50. it's different
51.   different way to login

In Text 1.3, Binh explains his *thoughts* or *ideas about education.* The text divides into three main sections: (1) future college goals (stanzas 1-6), (2) future jobs (stanzas 7-9), and (3) the new computer (stanzas 10-14). The first two sections are parallel, signaling Binh's uncertainty about his goals in the future, and both begin with the adverbial phrase "right now." The third section complements the more general section that preceded, and is built around Binh's narrative of buying a new computer. All three sections build around the theme of the *lack of effectiveness of education* to help Binh overcome *the tough life.*

From the very beginning of Text 1.2, Binh notes that his educational goals are contingent and therefore uncertain. For example, in lines 3-4, Binh says, "like if my English up a little bit / like 33B or 1A / at that time I will think about it" Later in lines 20 to 22, he repeats the condition: "right now get my education up / get that first / the main idea on my mind." As was the case in Text 1.2, where Binh talks about his *tough life* in high school, here, again, Binh sees English as a barrier to be overcome. It is worthy to note that Binh uses the metaphor of getting his English and his educational level up, meaning that he views himself as *down*, or *low*, or *under.* In high school, Binh felt that he "didn't learn much" because of his lack of English and his social isolation. Here again, Binh notes that he may not reach his educational goal until his English is up. In fact, Binh doesn't even want to make—or at least admit to an educational plan—until he reaches a certain level where he thinks he may have a chance of achieving that goal. In this case he refers to ESL "33B" and English "1A," classes which for him are at least two semesters, or one year away. At the least, Binh is uncertain about his ability to finish one year of college.

Binh's uncertainty can be seen in the way that he hedges his discussion of educational goals. His use of "think" in lines 2, 5, and 8 underscores his tentativeness with regards to his education. Clearly, Binh has a desired goal in mind—to study engineering at Cal Poly Pomona. But in a sense, he doesn't dare imagine himself in that situation yet. Planning must be deferred until he reaches a seemingly arbitrary level of English proficiency, at which time he can get the rest of his education up.

Similarly, Binh's uncertainty about his career aspirations can be seen in his use of "it depend" in lines 18 and 23. At first, Binh hedges and says that he doesn't have any idea about a future job. Later he restates his position in more positive sounding language—"if a job open for me / if I like it / I will do it / cause I'm an open people you know" (ll. 24-27). Binh places himself in an ambivalent position here. On the one hand, he begins by showing that he hasn't really thought about his future job. However, that position seems unsatisfactory to him, so expresses his openness to any job that "open" for him because he is an "open" person. Binh attempts to contrast himself with "closed" people who won't take any job that comes their way. Yet he undermines his argument by placing a condition on his openness: "if I like it." Binh seems to be facing a conflict within himself—the obligation to take whatever job comes along to deal with the *tough life* that he is facing and the desire to aspire to something more, despite the difficulty of attaining the goal. He began Text 1.3 by doubting his ability to transfer and achieve his goal (ll. 1-5). Now, as the narrative develops, he attempts to modify his position by showing how he is attempting to attain his desired goal of studying engineering at Cal Poly Pomona.

Binh then shifts the focus to his more specific interest in technology. However, he doesn't limit himself by saying "computers" or some other more specific form of technology, but rather intends 'technology' in a generic sense—"technology something"—keeping with his claim that he is an *open* person. He also maintains an air of control over his academic destiny when he says, "I will try that first. / if I like it I will be it / if not I will drop it" (ll. 32-35). Here again, Binh faces a conflict underlying his narrative—fatalism and failure or personal control and success. Binh tries to convince himself that he can become anything that he wants—one of the basic tenets of individualism found in the American academic setting. Yet underlying the text is still a sense of uncertainty, a "wait-and-see" attitude.

Binh gives a specific example of his demonstrated interest in technology. He bought a $4000 computer. His family protests his spending that much money, and obviously not using the investment. However, the computer seems to be of symbolic value for Binh, rather than of utilitarian value; he does not share his family's pragmatic views, but in fact dismisses them, stating, "I will use it later" (l. 41). He justifies his position by noting that he took two computer classes. However, he then goes on to relate that he dropped both classes because they were not useful for using his computers. In effect, Binh's optimism and confidence were undermined again by his experiences in the context of official education, which offered him the promise of an education in using his computer, but in the end let him down.

Before moving on, Binh's language changes as he moves in his narrative from the formal educational context to his purchase of the computer. In the school setting, Binh used more hedging structures, and expressed much more uncertainty. However, when he moved to the story about his family, the language becomes much more active, and he moves into a clearer position of agency: "I bought computer…", "my family complain me,"… "I will use it…", "I took…", "I dropped it"…. Although Binh has not reached this state in the narrative, it seems that his fate is to remain in the *tough life*—when he takes action in the text, the action fails. Schools, like people (ll. 12-15), cannot be trusted.

Apart from his family, Binh's friends are very important to him, both in school as well as out. But the category "friend" is problematic. As seen in text 1.3, Binh cannot trust anyone. On the other hand, he clearly wants to find close friends who understand and accept him. Furthermore, it was noted in Text 1.2 that the category friend is important in Binh's participation in the educational setting. However, there are numerous barriers to Binh's development of close friendships. In Text 1.4, Binh raises a number of identity issues related to language, class, and ethnicity which he further develops in Text 1.5.

Text 1.4: *"I'm Vietnamese and Chinese"*

Stanza 1

1. No cause my friends know me
2. I was born Vietnam
3. I couldn't speak any of the Vietnamese
4. only the simple one
5. you know what I mean
6. understand it

Stanza 2

7. a lot of people like the Vietnamese interesting me
8. like you're Vietnamese name
9. so how come you
10. come from China?

Stanza 3

11. "I was born in Vietnam
12. but 3 years
13. I move to China"

Stanza 4

14. sometimes I don't want to confuse people
15. I say I'm Chinese
16. if you want to give it
17. ask the people
18. "okay I'm Vietnamese and Chinese"

Stanza 5

19. if they want to get understanding
20. they will ask more discussion like "how?"
21. and then life's like that you know

In the interview just prior to Text 1.4, Binh noted that his family used to speak *Hakka* to one another, but when they came to the U.S. they switched to Cantonese. However, Binh's mother did not speak Cantonese, and with his sister, who was a high school senior, Binh often spoke English. In Text 1.4, Binh shows that he commonly dealt with the question of why he had a Vietnamese name but could only speak a few "simple" words in Vietnamese.

In this text, Binh contrasts *friends*, who know him, meaning that they know he was raised in China and knows almost nothing about Vietnam, with "A lot of people like the Vietnamese" (l. 7). These *non-friends* don't know Binh. In stanza 3, Binh gives his common answer to the question: he was born in Vietnam, but moved to China when he was three years old. But many people do not understand the history of the Chinese from Vietnam, so he often gives a simpler answer: "I say I'm Chinese" (l. 15). If people really want to know more details, he expects them to ask, and then he will answer, "okay I'm Vietnamese and Chinese" (l. 18). The text implies that the question is common, and that for Binh it is easier to hide his origin in Vietnam than to claim the dual identity. However, the very fact that Binh gives people the simple answer suggests that many people don't want to know and Binh doesn't necessarily want to tell everyone his origins.

In Text 1.4, it is interesting to note that Vietnamese people are constituted as "the other," as not being part of his context of friends. In fact, at the end of the text, Binh says that if a person really wants to know about his history, he will tell that person that "life's just like that, you know?" In a sense, Binh resigns himself to the fact that his identity is complicated. He implies that his birth in Vietnam was undesirable. He did not choose to be born there, and he would feel much more comfortable claiming a completely Chinese identity, rather than identifying with a people and country who are strange to him, and to a family history which—through his parents—has been hidden from him. "Life's just like that."

However, as shall be seen in Text 1.5, Binh's Vietnamese nationality, just like his name, is not something that he can be easily rid of. Here again, the theme of *friends* comes into play, but this time suggesting another reason that Binh does not want to reveal his origins in Vietnam—rejection by other groups. In Text 1.5, Binh himself wrestles with his "Vietnamese-Chinese-ness." Although he would feel more comfortable assuming a completely Chinese identity, he has to face the implications of his identity and origins. In this text, too, Binh's loneliness is placed within a more specific social setting, making it clearer and more understandable.

Text 1.5: *No group to join*

Stanza 1

1. I've heard like two
2. up to four of my friends
3. they say that I'm Vietnamese
4. they just didn't like me you know

Stanza 2

5. I'm say okay like
6. fuck them

Stanza 3

7. I talk the conversation with them
8. they ask me
9. "where you come from?"
10. I say "Vietnam"

Stanza 4

11. they say
12. suddenly change
13. they might like
14. "oh you're Vietnamese
15. I don't want to talk to you"
16. like that

Stanza 5

17. at first when they listen to me
18. they ignore me you know
19. fine you know

Stanza 6

20. in my opinion
21. I think
22. the Vietnamese not the attitude bad

Stanza 7

23. hey I'm born there
24. I'm not like
25. I'm learning Chinese culture
26. I'm good at it

Stanza 8

27. I going to treat you like something

Stanza 9

28. my friends told me
29. the Vietnamese
30. they have a lot of thiefing
31. like stoling people something

Stanza 10

32. in the old world ?
33. they say like Vietnamese have three hands
34. one hand is thiefing

Stanza 11

35. but I don't know
36. when we are living in China more than 10 years
37. nobody say like that
38. I don't know

Stanza 12

39. if your personality like that

40. you like that nothing change
41. even Chinese
42. can see like
43. some stole something from your stuff already

Stanza 13

44. I don't know how
45. the people treated me like that

Stanza 14

46. pretty much in the high school

Stanza 15

47. right now
48. I think high school and then college is different like that
49. so anybody treat like that

Stanza 16

50. I think high school is treat mostly like
51. if you're Vietnamese
52. then you are not belong to our part
53. cause they divide like Vietnamese Hong Kong Taiwan

Stanza 17

54. like when you walk
55. if you like eat lunch together
56. when you sit together
57. he's left or you left
58. they just don't want to talk to you

Stanza 18

59. cause I have no choice
60. I don't speak Vietnamese
61. I cannot join the Vietnamese group over there

Stanza 19

62. when I speak Chinese
63. the Chinese people ignore me you know

Stanza 20

64. and Hong Kong
65. I hate Hong Kongese
66. I don't know why
67. they always look down on me or something

Stanza 21

68. like are they
69. cause Chinese
70. I don't know why
71. Hong Kong hate Chinese
72. they treat me like dislike me
73. I don't know what's wrong

Stanza 22

74. myself
75. only work myself
76. eat by myself

Stanza 23

77. some close friends
78. my friends didn't mind me
79. I'm Chinese
80. they didn't mind
81. I'm Vietnamese

Stanza 24

82. so I didn't have much friends in the high school
83. they talked with me
84. so my life not happy in the high school
85. just think back about the life

Stanza 25

86. if I'm born in Chinese
87. I'm glad I'm Chinese
88. cause nobody make fun of me
89. and they look down on me you know

Stanza 26

90. but right now in my life is like
91. I born in Vietnam
92. I have not choice

Stanza 27

93. my friend didn't met me
94. I think I have no choice
95. people didn't realize that I have ho idea
96. just say my life is like that

Stanza 28

97. yeah lonely
98. that's why I work by myself
99. I don't want to trust people
10 I don't know that probably my life's been
10 my life's changed me to be like that you know

Stanzas 1 and 2 of Text 1.5 serve as a summary, which prepare the audience for the stanzas which follow. In stanza one, Binh notes that two to four of his friends said that they didn't like him because he was Vietnamese. For Binh, this raises several fundamental contradictions. First, Binh notes that these are friends. In Text 1.4, friends were people that knew and understood that he was born in Vietnam but could not speak Vietnamese and had a strongly Chinese identity. But in Text 1.5, there is a sense of betrayal—those who knew Binh's background and fit the category friend rejected him because of his nationality. Second, Binh is labeled as "Vietnamese," a category which for Binh entails 'otherness' and non-Chinese-ness. In this respect, Binh cannot accept the label and so rejects both the label and the so-called friends who didn't like him: "I'm say okay like / fuck them" (ll. 5-6).

After the initial summary in the first two stanzas, Binh goes on to give more details about the rejection that he experienced. Binh notes that he was talking with his friends, and the question came up of where he was born. He told them Vietnam, which caused a reaction in his friends. Binh says that they "suddenly change" (l. 12). Much like the Vietnamese government had done in Text 1.1, Binh notes a sudden change in his relationship to his friends when they found out that he "was not belong to their people" (1.1:6). As when the Vietnamese government "kick out," so the friends, in effect, kicked Binh out of their circle. From that time on, the former friends "ignore" Binh. His response was, "fine" (falling tone)—a resignation to his fate.

Binh himself wrestles internally with the label that he has been given—the otherness of his own identity and unknown history. Binh argues that even though he was born in Vietnam, he "learning Chinese culture" / he is "good at it" (ll. 25-26). In essence, Binh is arguing that he fits in more with Chinese culture/people, regardless the land of his birth. He questions their lack of acceptance. He also argues that he accepts Vietnamese people: "The Vietnamese not the attitude bad." He says that his "friends"—though he doesn't mention whether these are the friends who rejected him or not—did not like Vietnamese people because they "have a lot of thiefing" (ll. 29-

31). Binh argues, in effect, that evil—in this case theft—is not a necessary trait of Vietnamese-ness, but rather it is an unchangeable aspect of personality. Binh himself does not necessarily question he ethnic stereotype of 'three handed' Vietnamese people—that is, that some (or all) Vietnamese people steal; instead, he questions its application to him. In essence, Binh participates in the underlying racism present among some Chinese people. Binh doesn't really want to be labeled as Vietnamese, as he doesn't feel that it fits him, but the social environment in which Binh lives is highly polarized with regards to race and ethnicity, and Binh views it as his fate to have been born in Vietnam, a stigmatism that he must tolerate.

Binh argues that racism toward the Vietnamese is not necessarily Chinese, but belongs to certain individuals who happen to be racist. In stanza 8, he says that he never experienced racism or ethnocentrism in China only resulting from his birth in Vietnam. Rather, he locates the racism in the individual: "If your personality like that / you like that / nothing change" (ll. 39-40). Again, Binh points to an underlying belief in determinism—those former friends were just "those kind of people" who were racist, whether by birth or by choice. Nothing Binh did would change their racist attitudes. Even Chinese people, he rationalizes, can be thieves (ll. 41-43). They are just criminals; nothing can change that fact. Binh's determinism with respect to his treatment by other Chinese people becomes random and irrational, determined by fate. In meeting these friends and experiencing rejection, Binh's lot had fallen in with people whom fate had made racist. There is nothing that Binh could do to change fate.

Binh notes that the ethnic barriers that he has faced were strongest when he was in high school. There, he argues, there was a clear stratification among different Asian groups. He had no choice about the identity that he was given. Identity was given by the process of "dividing" based on national origin, ethnicity, and class. In lines 55 to 58, Binh gives the example of the table at lunchtime—if the person sits at a table with someone from a different ethnic group, someone will leave. In lines 59 to 67, Binh gives a forceful development of this experience. With Vietnamese people, he "can't join." Nationality is not a sufficient basis for relationship; a common language and common cultural understanding is required. When Binh spoke to Chinese people, they "ignored" Binh. Binh's personal agency in invoking a common sense of ethnicity cannot overcome barriers of nationality (and racism). But the strongest barriers of all were felt toward the "Hong Kongese", whom Binh hated and who, from his perspective, hated him. In this case, class and history form barriers that language cannot overcome. In the progression from common nationality to common ethnicity to class differences, Binh clearly reserves the strongest emotional reaction for class barriers.

In lines 66 and 67, Binh initially personalizes the antipathy felt between himself and other high school students from Hong Kong. But, then, in stanza 21, he reframes the issue as "Hong Kongese" versus "Chinese." The barrier is no longer personal but is based on intergroup relations. The students from Hong Kong generally come from higher status backgrounds and distinguish themselves from other Chinese. The "othering" is apparently mutual, as is the "hatred" or dislike among the groups. In spite of the fact that Hong Kong Chinese and the Chinese with whom Binh is familiar share a common language, Cantonese, and certain aspects of a common heritage, the capitalist history of Hong Kong, and socio-economic class have lent themselves to the label of "other." The class barrier is the strongest in Binh's mind, stronger than barriers of nationality, race, or ethnicity. In the respect that he is looked down upon by the Hong

Kongese in the same way as other Chinese, Binh finds a place of solidarity with other "Chinese." Here, solidarity forms along the lines of class more than nationality.

From his more general comments about the barriers that Binh has felt from other groups—the Vietnamese, the Chinese, and especially the Hong Kongese—he shifts in stanza 22 to the effect that these barriers have had on him. The effect of barriers of varying degrees of intensity was that in high school Bin worked and ate by himself, alone. He then draws a distinction between friends and close friends, noting that his close friends "didn't mind" his being Chinese and Vietnamese. In taking this position, he brings into question his own attitude towards his identity—they didn't mind implying that there was something about his identity to 'mind' or be bothered by. Again, he goes back to his earlier comment from text 1.3 that he "didn't have much friends" in high school. so his "life not happy in the high school" (stanza 24).

Beginning in stanza 24, Binh returns to the theme of fatalism. Being of Chinese heritage and being socialized in China are of no use to Binh since he was born in Vietnam. He feels that people make fun of him and look down on him because of his nationality. Underlying these comments is Binh's own complicity in these beliefs—he himself regrets his country of origin and feels that it denigrates his Chinese-ness. He states: "if I'm born in China / I'm glad I'm Chinese …but right now in my life is like / I born in Vietnam / I *have not choice*" (ll. 86-92). This fatalism is repeated several times at the end of Text 1.5: "I have no choice… Just say my life like that" (ll. 94,96).

At the end of text 1.6, Binh expresses a sense of separation from his own identity. In line 101, Binh comments on his sense of loneliness and his lack of trust in others, concluding, "my life's changed me to be like that, you know." Summing up the sense of alienation that Binh feels, his "life" here takes on agency and forces him to become lonely. His "life" or fate has caused him to have an identity that is unacceptable to both Chinese and Vietnamese alike. In this text, Binh experiences a deep conflict between the values of individualism as expressed in the American educational context, and the values that have been placed upon him by other groups sharing the same social space. Binh wants to believe that he can be accepted as an individual. But his strongest experiences are that he is labeled as a member of what he perceives to be a pariah group.

In text 1.6, Binh suggests that the same need for acceptance and kindness have caused other people in his family and social network to become involved in gangs. This text revolves around the death of a *"friend"* resulting from gang violence. In a scene that brings together different aspects of Binh's social world—family, friends, and school—Binh comments on the effects of the *tough life* in the U.S., which bring into question the decisions that families have made to come to the U.S.

Text 1.6: *A friend's death*

Stanza 1

1. Four months ago
2. I think four months ago
3. my friend got killed
4. gangster violence
5. I don't know

Stanza 2

6. he's Vietnamese
7. he really like me
8. I treat him like friend
9. he treat me like friend

Stanza 3

10. but he got killed
11. one bullet got shooted right here the leg
12. the leg
13. one bullet killed
14. I think a couple bullet in his chin right here

Stanza 4

15. terrible he's just
16. he lives like one same street
17. but bottom and the end of here

Stanza 5

18. then one day I heard
19. my sister told me
20. "your friend's dead"
21. "why is it?"
22. "gangster violence"

Stanza 6

23. I think so he's gang
24. but I don't know why
25. he got killed

Stanza 7

26. I think so his personality is good
27. like he didn't ignore you or something
28. if he's nice to talk to me
29. he talk to you you know

Stanza 8

30. I miss friend
31. I didn't have too much friend
32. when my friend's gone
33. I miss them

Stanza 9

34. they're crazy you know
35. they want to make trouble you
36. they can do anything
37. just got a AK47
38. shoot your house you know
39. they're crazy you know

Stanza 10

40. so that's why I don't want my friend
41. my son or my cousin
42. to join a gang

Stanza 11

43. but ah they just don't listen to us you know
44. join a gang whatever
45. run away
46. made us like
47. not worth it to live in the United State

Stanza 12

48. my brother or my sister already told me like
49. "don't join the gangs"

Stanza 13

50. Cause like one of my cousin

51. he live in Chinatown
52. he joined the gangs
53. called the /korin/ gang
54. they just run away
55. keep running

Stanza 14

56. only 15 to 16 years old girl you know
57. run away

Stanza 15

58. then father to chase her down
59. they just keep run away

Stanza 16

60. the parents driving the van
61. and then the friend driving the racing car
62. Honda Civic
63. how can they catch up?

Stanza 17

64. "you know your parents want you back
65. then why don't you just go back you know?"

Stanza 18

66. they didn't listen
67. just keep running running

Stanza 19

68. I think they're alone
69. they're don't have much money here
70. everything's tougher here

Stanza 20

71. everything's the family made money to support the family
72. every brother sister

Stanza 21

73. cause they don't have the actual money to buy something
74. like a t-shirt or shirt or Levi

Stanza 22

75. like after school
76. you don't have anything to do
77. just go shopping the mall
78. and you don' t have any money
79. that's why he liked it

Stanza 23

80. and the gangster pay for you
81. you gotta do something for him

Stanza 24

82. "I pay for you
83. you do something for me"

Stanza 25

84. And then steal steal
85. he got up to be a gangster

Death, whether personal or closely related to personhood, often elicits the most profound and well developed narrative. In Binh's case this can be seen both in the degree of development in the narrative, the affect displayed, and the action described through the language. The use of dialogue in lines 19-22 and 64-65 bring the listener into a participation with the dialogue, enhancing its emotional impact. In addition, a number of the themes seen in other texts—the *tough life*, *friends*, *fatalism*, and *family help*—coexist in this text in the uneasy relationship tied together by death, gang activity, and gang violence.

Text 1.6 opens with Binh's introduction of a new and unexpected topic—his friend's death due to "gangster violence." Throughout the text, Binh ties together the story of his friend's death, and his comment about gangs, with more personalized effects of the events that he mentions. Although the friend is Vietnamese—which, as was seen above, fits into the category of "other" for Binh—he still fits the category of *friend* because he accepts Binh and Binh accepts him as a friend, as well. "He didn't ignore you or something… he talks to you you know" (ll. 27-29). After a graphic description of where four bullets hit his friend, Binh goes on to note that the two lived on the same street. He then goes on to tell the story of how he found out about his friend's death from Binh's sister.

In this narrative, Binh prefers to deal with social issues on a personal level. "I think so he's gang / but I don't know why he got killed / I think his personality is good…" (ll. 23-26). Binh notes a few lines later how violent gangs can be (ll. 34-39)—"they're crazy…they want to make trouble you / they can do anything / just got a AK-47 shoot your house you know." Yet, he doesn't understand why his friend—who was nice and talked with Binh—would die as part of a gang. Binh again wrestles with the tension between the tenets of individualism and the realities of his experiences in society. His friend is nice; the other gangsters are crazy and violent. He doesn't want his friends or family members to join a gang (ll. 40-42), but does not see anything wrong with his Vietnamese friend, who died as a result of gang violence (stanza 6).

Binh summarizes the first part of the text with a (re-) statement of his fatalistic outlook on life: "But ah [falling tone] they just don't listen to us you know / join a gang whatever / run away / make us not worth it to live in the United States" (stanza 11). In the last statement here, Binh reveals an underlying hope or aspiration for his family's coming to the U.S. There is an underlying desire to improve their lives, a calculated risk aimed at escaping the *tough life* of China. But as Binh goes on to relate, younger family members, faced with the *tough life* in the U.S., make choices which undermine the values of family solidarity and mutual support in an attempt to overcome the effects of the *tough life*.

Binh rejects participation in gangs as a viable choice for himself—since he has chosen to follow the advice of his "brother or…sister" (ll. 48-49). In contrast, another family member, in this case a cousin who lived in Chinatown, chose to join a gang. Binh goes on to tell the story of a 15-16-year-old girl who ran away with a gang and in so doing rejected her family and their desire to have her back at home. Binh graphically describes a chase scene where the parents almost caught up with their daughter but then lost her. Binh places himself in that situation as if he were speaking to his cousin, advising her to return to her family. But, again, it seems to be his cousin's fate to be part of the gang: "they didn't listen / just keep running" (ll. 66-67).

The imagery of *running* or *running away* characterizes those who choose to join gangs. Binh repeats this imagery in stanzas 11,13,14, 15, and 19. Binh says of his cousin who lives in Chinatown, "he joined the gang… they just run away / keep running." It is notable that those who join gangs are running from their own family members, as the young girl Binh so vividly describes in stanzas 14 and 18.

Binh explains his cousin's actions by returning to the theme of the *tough life*, facing a situation very much like his own. "I think they're alone / they're don't have much money here / everything's tougher here / everything's the family made money to support the family / every brother sister" (stanza 20). *The tough life* involves loneliness and isolation, poverty, and responsibilities to help other family members escape the tough life through work—often hard work for long hours and low pay. (In Binh's case, this involved working as a busboy in a Chinese restaurant.) For young people like Binh's cousin, and to some extent Binh himself, gangs offered an alternative to dealing with *the tough life*. In lines 73 to 81, Binh describes how a young person, confronted by the symbols of the "good life" represented at the mall, and their own lack of financial resources, some young people exchange the goods and mutual responsibility offered by the family for the goods and mutual responsibility offered by the gang: "and the gangster pay for you / and you gotta do something for him / 'I pay for you / you do something for me'" (ll. 80-83). The young person who makes the exchange, then, also changes paths of development—from getting the education and English up, as in Binh's case—to getting up to be a gangster (l. 85).

Discussion

In Binh's texts, the audience is presented with Binh's notion of *the tough life*, and three alternative means by which Chinese-Vietnamese people deal with it. For Binh, *the tough life* in the U.S. involves poverty, social isolation, language barriers, and the stress of the *push-push* life. Binh feels a strong sense of obligation to his family to help them survive. Binh considers three different ways of dealing with *the tough life*. The first means presented by Binh, that of his mother and father, was to remain silent about the grief and pain. Binh implies that this way of dealing with *the tough life* was acceptable in historical context but was not allowable in the social context of Los Angeles. As a result, Binh confines their way of dealing with the tough life completely to a historical context. The second means of dealing with the rough life, that which Binh himself is attempting to utilize, has to do with "getting English up" to "get education up" to eventually pursue a degree. Binh was able to pursue this path only because he had a "nice" sister and brother-in-law, who had financially supported the family in China, and who had continued to support them for more than five years after Binh and his family came to the U.S. However, Binh questioned the possibility of escaping *the tough life* through education because of his limited proficiency in English and the inefficacy of education. The third path of dealing with the hard life was that pursued by Binh's cousin and Binh's Vietnamese friend that was killed: involvement in gangs. As with the family context, the path offered by gangs involved mutual support, mutual responsibility, and mutual benefit. Unlike the family, however, involvement in gangs freed younger family members from the expectations of their elders and allowed them to take on more of the overt symbols of the good life, which they had never experienced. Of the latter two options available to members of the younger generation, one means tied them to the historical roots of their experience, which, in Binh's case, prolonged feelings of isolation and alienation in the social context as suggested by his friends narratives, but also offered the possibility—however unlikely—of integration into dominant society. The other means of escape from the tough life tied younger family members to a way of life that offered acceptance in the limited context of the gang, but alienation from mainstream society. For Binh, the means taken by family member and friend alike depends primarily on which direction fate—and a caring or responsible person—takes them.

Narrative Profile #2: Angie

Of all the participants in the interviews, Angie arrived the earliest in the U.S., at the age of six. Angie and her family spent a year in refugee camps—half in Thailand, half in the Philippines—en route to the U.S. The transition to the U.S. was very stressful for Angie and her family. Angie was hospitalized in Thailand because of the lack of adequate food in the camp. In the Philippines, the camp was in the mountains and near a river, and Angie's pregnant mother was worried that she would deliver her baby too early because of having to walk up and down the mountain, especially on rainy days. Her parents also had to attend school and get a certificate of education before they were allowed into the U.S. Angie, too, attended school in the Philippines, where she was taught English and drawing. Angie remembers that the camp was crowded, and most of the people were Vietnamese males—very few were Chinese speaking. Angie arrived in the U.S. in 1985 with her parents and three younger siblings. Her family lived for two years in Arizona, where she had an aunt who ran a restaurant. Later, they relocated to San Francisco. After eight years in northern California, Angie's family moved to San Gabriel, where they have lived for the last two years.

Other than the six months that she was in the Philippines, Angie was educated entirely in the U.S. Her first two years of primary school were in Arizona, and the rest of her primary and secondary schooling were completed in San Francisco. During the time that her family was living in San Francisco, Angie also attended an after school Cantonese program at a Buddhist temple for a year, and she studied Mandarin in a Saturday school for one year when she was 16. Angie reports that she never attended ESL classes after coming to the U.S. At the time of the interview, Angie was studying at Pasadena City College, where she was majoring in Elementary Childhood Education, her third major.

Like Binh, Angie experienced isolation resulting from informal segregation in the context of school in the U.S. However, rather than fatalistically accepting her circumstances as did Binh, Angie highlights the themes of personal agency and self-transformation as means of overcoming barriers in the "White and Black" world, of which she is not part. Yet self-transformation for Angie results in an assimilated identity that negates or hides aspects of her identity and disconnects her from a personal sense of history. In the end, Angie faces the ambiguity of her own identity in the context of the marginalizing forces in her social world.

In Text 2.1, Angie relates the difficulties that she had when she first arrived in Arizona. In particular, she describes school experiences which initially alienated her. But through the help of several key people and experiences, Angie felt that she was able to transition into a more participatory role in the social setting in Arizona. During the course of the whole interview, Angie drew a sharp distinction between the social setting of Arizona and that of the San Gabriel Valley region in California. Although she provides narratives of exclusion in both settings, her experiences of primary socialization, described in Text 2.1, are much stronger, particularly in the negation of her Chinese-ness/Asian-ness. These themes are later developed in Texts 2.1a and 2.4.

Text 2.1: *Arizona 1*

Stanza 1

1. Arizona?
2. it was bad

Stanza 2

3. well we thought
4. it was totally different
5. we thought
6. It was so good
7. and stuff like that
8. maybe better than Vietnam you know
9. what we consider

Stanza 3

10. because like where I go to the school
11. during that time
12. there is no Asians
13. I'm the only Asian right there
14. and there's a lot of like White and Black

Stanza 4

15. and they kind of like

Stanza 5

16. I don't know
17. because like I don't really speak good English
18. but I mean
19. just a little bit that I can hear
20. which is I can catch a little bit

Stanza 6

21. but then they always like make fun of me
22. they always like throw my lunch
23. and then talk to the teacher
24. and say what I did

Stanza 7

25. and my teacher ground me
26. like study math book for all day

Stanza 8

27. like I don't know
28. even what happened
29. like oh what did I do wrong you know

Stanza 9

30. like they made me
31. go to the boys restroom
32. I don't really know that you know
33. cause like I was so little kid

Stanza 10

34. well pretty sad you know
35. for like two years
36. I've been living there

Stanza 11

37. and like the teacher like talk in class
38. I don't even understand
39. what she is talking

40. she told me to do the work
41. and I don't even know what to do

Stanza 12

42. like she told me
43. draw a strawberry
44. I don't even know what it is <laughing>
45. never strawberry before you know
46. like I don't even know it's a fruit

Stanza 13

47. so which is like you know really terrible

Stanza 14

48. but then I'm like really happy
49. that there's a church person
50. that they came by in each house
51. they said like go to church
52. and read Bible
53. stuff like that

Stanza 15

54. I didn't even know
55. what is good you know

Stanza 16

56. but then my aunt
57. she has been living there for so long
58. she said
59. like she believed in God

Stanza 17

60. but my parents don't believe in God
61. they believe in Buddhism
62. which is you know a conflict right there already

Stanza 18

63. but then my aunt said
64. that I could pick up English right there
65. which is good you know

Stanza 19

66. but then I went to church
67. every Sunday morning
68. reading Bible over and over every single day

Stanza 20

69. sitting there only on one page
70. can you believe it? <laugh>
71. a month
72. still on the first page

Stanza 21

73. and then yeah
74. I catch up pretty quick

75. afterward

Stanza 22

76. and then I go to school
77. when pretty much friend afterward

Stanza 23

78. but it takes time a long time
79.   it takes like one years later

Stanzas 1 and 2 provide a general orientation for the general tone and theme of the first half of the narrative. "Arizona? It was bad." Stanza 2 suggests that the experience of *badness* in Arizona was a surprise to Angie's family. What they knew of life in Arizona didn't match up with their experiences—"We thought it was totally different / we thought it was so good / maybe better than Vietnam" (ll. 3-9). The repetition of the word "thought" and the paraphrase in line 9 "what we consider" add strength to the disjunction between preconception and experience. Angie implies that life in Vietnam may actually have been better than life in Arizona. Rather than elaborating on her family's experience in Arizona, Angie moves on to her own experiences of socialization in Arizona.

Throughout Text 2.1, Angie and her immediate family members are silent. Those who have been empowered to talk in this text include her peers in school, her teacher, "a church person," and her aunt, who has lived in the U.S. "for so long." Angie explains her own silence in the text, but does not elaborate on her parents' silence. For Angie, the *badness* of Arizona was an isolating experience that alienated her from the social context of school, separated her from her parents, and left her to adapt on her own, as is discussed below.

Text 2.1 naturally divides into four main sections: (1) *orientation*—stanzas 1 and 2; (2) *bad experiences in school*—stanzas 3 through 13; (3) *help in adapting*—

stanzas 14 through 20; and (4) *resolution to the problem*—stanzas 21 through 23. Apart from the orientation section, all of the sections are joined together by paired or linked conjunctions which serve to highlight Angie's main points.

Section 2, stanzas 3 through 13, provides a narrative which develops Angie's opening statement by giving her personal experiences in school in Arizona. More specifically, Angie relates three reasons, marked with "(be)cause" for her initial bad experience. In stanza 3, Angie notes, "because where I go to the school / … / I'm the only Asian there / and there's a lot of like White and Black" (ll. 10-14). The theme of racial differences in one that Angie develops later in the interview and which is discussed at length in connection with Text 2.1a. The second reason that Angie gives for her bad experience in school in Arizona comes in stanza 5. "Because like I don't really speak good English" (l. 17). The issue of language was a stronger initial experience for Angie, and she gives numerous examples in the rest of section 2 as to why the experience of not knowing English was particularly hard for her. The third reason, which is less direct or emphatic than the other two, comes in stanza 9. "Cause I was so little kid" (l. 32). Angie was six years old when she began attending elementary school in Arizona. She didn't know the "rules of survival" at that time and so was mistreated by other classmates and misunderstood by her teacher.

Stanzas 3 through 9 focus primarily on Angie's relationships with her peers in school. In these stanzas, she describes three sets of experiences using three pairs of conjunctions—"and" (ll. 14-15), " but" (ll. 18-20), and "and" again (ll. 22-23). The first experience is not directly stated, but is developed more explicitly in Text 2.1a. This is the experience of difference. "And there's a lot of like White and Black…and they're kind of like-" (ll. 14-15). Rather than complete her description of racial difference and experiences of racism, Angie chooses to first focus on a more specific source of discrimination—her lack of English language skills. Consequently, Angie shifts to her second "because" statement in stanza 5.

In lines 18 and 20, Angie pairs the conjunction "but" to show a contradiction based on her experience of language. Throughout this text Angie uses "but" to signal dichotomies. Here, the dichotomy is one of expectation. Angie could understand a little English, "But I mean just a little bit that I can hear" (ll.18-19). Because of her poor ability in English, Angie seemed to expect that her peers should help her learn English. However, her experiences did not match her expectations. "But then they always make fun of me" (l. 21). Rather than fulfilling Angie's expectation of help in adapting, her schoolmates ridiculed her. She gives a clear example of how they "made fun of her." Angie relates that "they always like throw my lunch / and then talk to the teacher and say what I did / and my teacher ground me / like study math book for all day" (ll. 21-26). The use of adverbials "all" and "always" serve to emphasize that this was an event that clearly marked her experience in school as bad. In this example, Angie also links a cause and effect statement using the paired conjunctions "and… and…" to show an implied complicity between the students who took advantage of her and the teacher that "grounded" her. In addition, in the four occurrences of the paired conjunction "and (then)…" (lines 14 & 15, 23 & 24, 37 & 41, 73 & 76), Angie signals causal relationships. In other words, in stanzas 6 and 7, Angie suggests that the tone of her relationship with her teacher was established by those who were insiders in the social context, and she was effectively disciplined—to study math and not language, which she needed—and alienated in the context.

Angie was an outsider not only because of her racial differences but also because of her lack of understanding the rules of survival in school, worsened by her lack of skills in English. With a triplet of "misunderstandings" signaled by a fronted "like" in lines 27 to 31, Angie emphasizes her isolation and vulnerability in the social context of school. She summarizes her not understanding the rules with her third "(be)cause" statement—"cause like I was so little kid" (l. 33). Had she been older, she suggests, she would have been able to handle herself in that social context.

In stanza 10, Angie returns to her opening theme of *Arizona badness*. Stanza 10 includes a paraphrase—"well, pretty sad … / for the two years I've been living there" (ll. 34-35). Immediately after the summary, she continues on with another example, a coda to the previous examples. But, this time the example takes place in the classroom. Angie describes an interaction with her teacher in which Angie is asked to do something she doesn't understand. Angie divides this example into two parts, marked with two conjunctions, "and" in lines 37 and 41 and "like" in lines 42 and 46. In the first half of the example, Angie emphasizes her lack of linguistic skills. "And like the teacher like talk in class / I don't even understand what she is talking / … and I don't even know what to do." Angie's memory of frustration with her lack of linguistic skills is evident through the emphatic use of "even". In the second half of the example, Angie shifts emphasis to her lack of background knowledge. "Like she told me to draw a strawberry / … / Like I don't even know it's a fruit" (ll. 42, 46). Here Angie ties the example back into her second and third "(be)cause" statements listed above: she lacked English language skills and she lacked the knowledge to 'protect' herself in the class.

In Angie's narrative, teachers are portrayed in a negative light. In the first instance, teachers sided with native-speaking students and punished Angie for her lack of language proficiency and background knowledge in her interactions with her peers. In the second example, Angie portrays the teacher as lacking understanding of her cultural background and learning needs. In essence, the teacher is part of the "white and black" problem that shaped Angie's experiences in Arizona. At the end of section 2, Angie emphatically summarizes her feelings about Arizona and about the school setting in stanza 13. "So which is like really terrible." Angie's experience of school in Arizona went beyond *bad* because of the teacher's lack of understanding; it was *terrible*.

Beginning in stanza 14, Angie shifts away from the *bad Arizona* theme of sections 1 and 2. While she links the third section of the narrative with the conjunction "but (then)" (l. 48), her purpose in this section is to present a series of contrasts that show her initial experiences of assimilation into American culture. These three paired contrasts are signaled in this section through the use of the conjunction "but (then)" (ll. 48, 56, 60, 66). The focus on the themes of accessible ways of learning English, religious beliefs that promote assimilation, and the reality of learning English.

The first paired contrast, in stanza 14, indirectly deals with appropriate ways of learning English. Angie recalls "a church person / that they came by in each house / they said like go to church and read Bible / stuff like that." In this context, she is connecting two different learning experiences, one formal, alienating, and "terrible"—her classroom experience with her teacher—and the other informal, integrating (see stanza 22), and "good"—learning by attending church and reading the Bible. The basic dichotomy affecting Angie's experience, first, is how to learn.

The second paired contrast marked with "but (then)…" signaled differences in belief systems, which resulted in family conflict. In stanzas 16, Angie states: "But then my aunt / she has been living there for so long / she said like she believed in God" and contrasts her aunt with her parents in stanza 17 "but my parents don't believe in God / they believe in Buddhism / which is you know a conflict right there already." The learning strategy that Angie chooses in Arizona, going to church and reading the Bible, leads to a fundamental conflict within the family over belief systems. Angie implies in the text that she chose the "going-to-church-reading-the-Bible" method because of her aunt's authority—as evidenced by her ability to speak—along with Angie's understanding that her aunt has been "living there for so long" (l. 57), implying that her aunt is more of an insider in the social context. Angie's decision was further supported by her parents' lack of authority in the context—as demonstrated by their silence. In other words, Angie demonstrates the belief that only those who have become active participants in the social setting have legitimate authority to speak. Angie did not follow the orders of her teacher, who also had legitimate authority to propose a path of adapting to the social setting, because Angie did not have the linguistic ability or the background knowledge to do what the teacher said. Her aunt, on the other hand, had the same authority as the "church person" in stanza 14 through the shared belief system in God as well as the efficacy of church attendance and Bible reading as a learning methodology.

As a result of accepting her aunt's ideology as "good" (l. 65), Angie follows her aunt's—and the church person's—advice. However, this led her to the third dichotomy, the contradiction between ideology and experience. In her third paired contrast, in stanzas 18 and 19, Angie relates, "but then my aunt said / that I could pick up English right there / which is good you know," yet she goes on to suggest the frustration that she had with the methodology. "But then I went to church / every

Sunday morning / reading the Bible over and over every single day / sitting there on only one page / can you believe it? / A month still on the first page." While her aunt had suggested that Angie could "pick up English right there," Angie emphasizes that the reality did not match with the promise, "a month still on the first page." The effect of Angie's learning by the new methodology was not significantly different from her classroom learning experiences, yet her tone is completely different because of a newfound sense of agency. Even if her method is ineffective, she is still able to *act* within the social setting, and consequently to adapt to it.

In the last two stanzas of the narrative, section 4, Angie suggests that her school experience changed completely: "I catch up pretty quick afterward" and "pretty much friend afterward" (ll. 73-77). In section three, there is a more subtle shift in the narrative that signals the reason for the "good" results. Before this experience, Angie, like her parents, had been objectified, subject to other people's actions—those of her peers and her classmates. Her change in ideology, which she attributes to church attendance and Bible reading, brought about a change in agency. She shifted from being one who was mute and actionless in the social context of Arizona to one who had agency, one who could act on the world. The cost of the agency for her was a shift in worldview from a Buddhist one, which was inassimilable in the social context, to a Christian one, which allowed her to assimilate. An additional result, as she relates in line 46, was conflict with her parents, and disconnection with her history.

In the last two stanzas, Angie also returns to markers of causality, "and (then)…" to point to the effects of her newfound agency—"catching up" and "(making) pretty much friends" (stanzas 21-22). In this paired causal relationship, the acquisition of English language skills, "picking up English right there," resulted in "pretty much friend" when she "go to school" (ll. 76-77). The parallel occurrence of the adverbial "afterward" is a clear marker that Angie attributes her successful experience of language acquisition and successful socialization to her shift in ideology and the learning methodology appropriate to the ideology. Even though she concedes that "it takes a long time / it takes like one year later" (ll. 78-79), Angie does not question the ideology in this text, nor does she imagine that another methodology and/or belief system could have resulted in the same results. The belief system that allowed Angie to assimilate remained unquestioned.

The assimilation that Angie suggested in Text 2.1 was not complete, however. As she related later in the interview, in Text 2.1a, her experience in Arizona was characterized by racist discrimination. Although in Text 2.1 Angie noted that she had "pretty much friend," the dominant theme in Text 2.1a returns to the rejection that she experienced for being Asian in a "White and Black" world.

Text 2.1a: *Arizona 2*

Stanza 1

1. Like for Arizona
2. that's what I remember
3. like look down on Asian you know
4. like they don't think
5. who I am

Stanza 2

6. they think
7. you're Asian you know
8. I'm White and Black
9. this is our world you know
10. like you're not supposed to be here

Stanza 3

11. but then they pretty like take advantage of you
12. which is think of what I am
13. just think of for my skin color my hair the way I dress

Text 2.1a actually came after the narration of negative treatment by a "Hongkongese friend" recorded in Text 2.2 in response to a question of any other situations in which Angie felt "looked down on." Text 2.1a is built around Angie's understanding of her experience of racism in Arizona, which is expressed in two parallel statements in stanzas 1 and 3: "…they don't think who I am … but …think of what I am / just think of for my skin color, my hair, the way I dress" (ll. 4-5, 11-13). In text 2.1, Angie noted that she was the only Asian in her school. In the eyes of her peers, Angie's personhood was negated and she was categorized as "other," or alien.

Situated in the middle of the parallel structures of stanzas 1 and 3 is a parenthetical statement which Angie uses to contextualize her argument about her schoolmate's looking down on her Asian-ness. Stanza 2 is built around Angie's powerful restatement of the belief system that she encountered in Arizona: "I'm White and Black / This is our world … / … you're not supposed to be here." Angie experienced being made into "the Other," the alien, not only by members of dominant society, but also by members of a historically disadvantaged community. And she sees the two in complicity to close to her the possibility of becoming a participant in the context. "I'm White and Black"—there is a sense in which the racial conflict in which African Americans and European Americans have engaged becomes a symbiotic relationship which excludes the possibility of participation of other groups in the cultural dialogue. The implied—and at times explicit—message that Angie received, doubtless many times from her examples in Text 2.1, was that she did not belong in that social world; she should go back to wherever she came from.

In Text 2.1a, the word "think" occupies an important position. "like look down on Asian… / they don't think who I am" (ll. 3-5) , "they think you're Asian…/ I'm

White and Black" (ll. 6-8), "but then they pretty like take advantage of you / which is just think of what I am / just think of my skin color, my hair, and the way I dress" (ll. 11-13). In other words, through her usage of the word 'think', Angie highlights the "looking down on" and "taking advantage of" Angie, which she exemplified in Text 2.1, as motivated by a particular ideology of race. It is notable that she perceives ideology as predominantly "White and Black," and that "Brown-ness" does not enter into the racial ideology that led to her treatment. In essence, "non-White" and "non-Black" people "are not supposed to be" in the social context of Angie's school. Angie reveals her orientation toward dominant culture and the popular beliefs about historical race and class conflicts. Angie sees herself as completely left out of the traditional conception of race, and therefore unable to contest her position. Her only option, as is seen in Text 2.2, is to assimilate and lose her "otherness." She had to begin to think about herself in agreement with the ideology of Otherness that characterized her social context.

In Text 2.2, Angie discusses the differences that she has perceived between the social context of Los Angeles and that of Arizona, where she lived during the first two years after her arrival in the U.S. The text was a response to a question of whether Angie ever felt proud to be Chinese. Angie equates language with Chinese identity and focuses on the utility or "helpfulness" of knowing Chinese as the source of her "pride".

Text 2.2: ***Chinese Identity: Before and After***

Stanza 1

1. After we come to Los Angeles
2. well I'll be proud

Stanza 2

3. because like you know
4. you speak like pretty much language right now

5. you know when you look for a job

Stanza 3

6. before
7. I don't really think so
8. because like before I come here
9. I want to know English
10. and I learn English

Stanza 4

11. but then I find out like you know
12. keep learning English
13. but then move to Los Angeles
14. It's a different story

Stanza 5

15. depends where you live you know

Stanza 6

16. like Arizona
17. you gotta pick up English you know
18. even though like how many languages you speak
19. they don't care you know

Stanza 7

20. but then Los Angeles
21. I come down here
22. but then [they start to say]
23. you know consider other languages good

Stanza 8

24. so which is like pretty helpful

Text 2.2 naturally divides into two main sections. In the first section—stanzas 1 through 4—focuses on a "before and after" picture of moving to Los Angeles. The second section focuses on the value placed on language in Los Angeles versus Arizona, the two places in which Angie had lived for two years each. Interestingly, Angie does not make reference to San Francisco, where she had lived the longest. The omission of San Francisco suggests that Angie is contrasting two extremes in the value placed on her Chinese identity, and more specifically on her ability to use Chinese. After coming to Los Angeles, her ability to speak Chinese was considered "helpful"—"they…consider other languages good," but before, in Arizona, "how many languages you speak / they don't care…" (ll. 22-23, 18-19).

The first section of Text 2.2 is built around the contrast expressed in lines 1 and 6: "after we come to Los Angeles / well I'll be proud" and "before / I don't really think so" (ll. 1-2, 6-7). In addition, the two contrasting time expressions are supported by clauses of reason, suggesting that her ability to use different languages is the source of Angie's "pride" since coming to Los Angeles. However, two features mark this contrast. First, Angie reverses the time order of the experiences—"after…before…." In part, this results from the question that elicited the text—the question of Angie's pride in being Chinese. However, Angie's shift into the future in line 2—"well, I'll be proud"—one of the few times in the entire interview that Angie shifts her time frame into the future, suggests that the experience of "being proud" is not one that she has fully realized yet.

Angie's belief in the utility of multilingualism is, in fact, rooted more in theory than in her actual experience. The theoretical nature of Angie's belief is reinforced through her shift in pronoun usage from stanza 1 to stanza 2. While the question was a personal one, Angie begins with a collective experience, "after *we* came to Los Angeles," and then shifts to a more personal account, "well *I*'ll be proud." As noted, however, the shift to the future keeps the account from being rooted in the reality of present experience. In her explanation, Angie shifts again to a more generic understanding, "*you* speak like pretty much language right now / *you* know when *you* look for a job." In contrast, Angie remembers her experience in Arizona in very personal terms—"before *I* come here… / *I* want to know English / and *I* learn English…" (ll. 8-10). Angie demonstrated that she understood the dominant ideology of language in Arizona and adapted herself to that by "wanting to know English" and "learning English." In Los Angeles, while she understands in theory the advantage that she should have by speaking languages other than English, she does not point to specific personal experiences that demonstrate the value that she gives to her ability to speak Chinese. Angie is confronted by an internal conflict over the ideology of language. Her personal experience draws her to the ideology in which she was first socialized, an ideology which negates her family and ethnic identification. Yet she recognizes her unfulfilled expectation that knowing Chinese should benefit her in the social context of the San Gabriel Valley.

Angie reflects further on the values placed on the languages she knows in the two most contrasting social contexts she has experienced. She points to the importance of social context in stanza 5—"depends on where you live"—and then goes on in stanza 6 to describe Arizona, reversing the order of the first section. The value placed on language mirrors the other aspects of racist ideology described by Angie in Text 2.1. The normative requirements of the language ideology in Arizona are two-fold. First, Angie points to the prescriptive aspect of the ideology, "you gotta pick up English." Secondly, she states more forcefully the regulatory aspect of the ideology, "even though… how many languages you speak / they don't care" (ll. 18-19). Thus, the effect of language ideology of the "White and Black" context of Arizona regulates language by requiring English and strongly sanctioning the use of languages other than English. The force of Angie's statement of the regulatory function of the ideology can be seen through the contrastive statement, which has a parallel statement in Chinese, which emphasizes the result, "they don't care." The implication of the dual focus of Angie's description of Arizona is that the dominant ideology in Arizona is not passive towards the use of languages other than English but actively opposes it.

The language with which Angie describes the language ideology of Los Angeles is less clear and distinct, and less rooted in personal experience, than that with which she described Arizona. "But then they… consider other languages good" (ll. 22-23). In several parts of the interview, Angie refers to the notion of "good" languages, which she uses to describe English and Cantonese. Given her years of experience in learning and using English and her background in Cantonese, Angie evaluates the linguistic context of Los Angeles in stanza 8 as "pretty helpful." In line 5 of Text 2.2, Angie notes that knowing more than one language has given her access to jobs in Los Angeles, and now she evaluates that opportunity as helpful. For Angie, as is the case for Sandy in *Narrative Profile #3*, knowing Chinese has a pragmatic value related to accessing desired economic resources connected with the immigrant economy of Los Angeles, apart from the sanction placed on languages other than English by dominant society. However, the benefits of knowing Chinese are limited in that they don't give access to the presumed range of benefits offered through conformity to the English-only behaviors prescribed by the dominant cultural ideology.

Angie's perception of the usefulness of Cantonese reflects in many ways the influence of her mother. Angie's family was not historically from a Cantonese background. Rather, Angie's mother decided when she was young to learn Cantonese to give her access to the financial resources found in wartime Saigon. In Text 2.3, Angie outlines the language shifts in her family, and shows how they have resulted in the "mixing" of languages in the context of Angie's extended family in Los Angeles.

Text 2.3a: *Language shift—nuclear family*

Stanza 1

1. How'd that happen?
2. good question

Stanza 2

3. that's what I was asking my mom too
4. "you speak Teochew and Fukkien
5. how come you don't teach us this?"

Stanza 3

6. but my mom

Stanza 4

7. because I like my mom a lot you know
8. she's really upgrade everything

Stanza 5

9. she consider
10. Cantonese is a really popular language
11. so she start off
12. us speak Cantonese

Stanza 6

13. before
14. she don't even speak any Cantonese
15. she pick up since she was a kid

Stanza 7

16. my grandmother speak Teochew

Text 2.3 begins with a clarification about language patterns in Angie's family. Although Angie speaks Cantonese with her immediate family members and studied Cantonese for a year in a daily after school class at a Buddhist temple, Cantonese is not her heritage dialect. As she notes in Text 2.3a, the decision to shift completely from speaking Teochew and Fukkien to speaking Cantonese was made by her mother as a way of "upgrading" the family's language patterns to a more "popular" form of Chinese. Elsewhere in the interview, Angie mentioned in passing that her family was wealthy in Vietnam. As a result, the shift to Cantonese may have been an expression on her mother's part of reflecting a particular social status. Cantonese was the dominant commercial language in Vietnam, as it was in other parts of the world.

In stanzas 1 and 2, Angie refocuses the initial question from a more neutral one—"how'd that happen?" (l. 1) to a more emotionally charged one that she herself had directed to her mother—"how come you don't teach us this?" (l. 5). In order to answer both questions, Angie draws a parallel between two decisions made by her mother. Her mother's decision to teach her children Cantonese and not their heritage dialects—which they could have used to communicate with their grandmother (see line 16)—was the same as her own decision to "pick up" Cantonese "since she was a kid" (ll. 13-15). That is, in the social context of Vietnam, developing fluency in Cantonese was more advantageous than passively accepting the languages passed down through the family line or the national language, which was taught in the school. In addition, the shift to Cantonese was a means of developing cultural capital for the family which could be converted to economic capital in numerous Chinese-speaking contexts.

In many ways, Angie's language beliefs mirror her mother's. Just as her mother saw that it was advantageous to acquire spoken ability in Cantonese in Vietnam, Angie saw the advantage in learning English in the U.S. In both cases, the social context did not necessarily support or provide for a linguistic shift; therefore, each girl/woman had to exercise her agency and function as a *transformative individual*, one who influenced the language patterns in parts of the family network of relationships. Similarly, both the family's shift to Cantonese and Angie's shift to English were the results of intentional choices, not decisions which were forced on them. In this respect, Angie's immediate family differed from that of her extended family. In the second half of Text 2.3, Angie talks about the linguistic differences between her and her cousins, who speak Teochew and Vietnamese. These differences have significant implications in the family context, as will be discussed below. The differences also point to the influence of a transformative individual on the direction of a family's adaptation in the U.S.

Text 2.3b: *Language patterns—extended family*

Stanza 8

1. Actually I speak Cantonese
2. but with my cousins
3. Teochew

Stanza 9

4. my cousin usually use Teochew or Vietnamese

Stanza 10

5. they sometime mix you know
6. they won't like really consider just one language
7. but they'll mix

Stanza 11

8. they'll mix all the time
9. which is like English Cantonese Vietnamese
10. whatever that they remember you know

Unlike Angie's immediate family, her cousins maintained the ability to speak Teochew, and they also speak Vietnamese, a language which Angie elsewhere looks down on. Angie notes that with her cousins she speaks Teochew, distinguishing her restricted use of Teochew from her use of Cantonese. The core of Text 2.3b is found in stanza 9: "they sometimes mix… / they won't … really consider just one language" (ll. 21-23). Angie's cousins make linguistic choices that are in marked contrast with those of Angie and her mother. Where as Angie and her mother 'consider just one language,' English and Cantonese, respectively, her cousins mix languages. Line 18 suggests that the mixing is a conscious choice on the part of her cousins—"they (don't) consider…." However, in stanza 11, Angie weakens the statement of her cousins' agency, suggesting that they use "whatever that they remember" (l. 26). Consequently, Angie suggests that her cousins mix because they lack fluency in any one of the languages.

This may be supported by Angie's alternation of Teochew in lines 19 and 20 with Cantonese in line 25. In short, Angie perceives herself as making coherent linguistic choices—Cantonese with her immediate family and outside of the family, and Teochew with her cousins—while her cousins' choices are more haphazard, mixing because of a lack of fluency.

The mixing of languages that Angie mentions with regards to her cousins is a issue that was raised by a number of interviewees, including, for example, Khue in *Narrative Profile #6*. Interviewees often point to one particular family member as transforming the language patterns of the family, usually from Vietnamese or Teochew—or less commonly from another Chinese language—to Cantonese. However, in many cases the influence of the transformative family member does not extend throughout the extended family structure; his or her influence is limited, as was the case with Angie's mother. Many extended families, like Angie's, get together regularly. Angie's family, for example, gathered each Sunday at a Chinese (Cantonese) restaurant for *dim sum*. Because of the regular interaction of extended families, as well as the divergent language choices and limited access to literacy and fluent forms of languages, Chinese-Vietnamese extended families are mixing languages in the process of losing the full range of multilingual language abilities. Several interviewees from Vietnamese-dominant families noted seeing the tendency to mix languages at work in their nuclear families, particularly as a transformative (older) family member from outside the nuclear family began to influence the interviewees' nuclear families to shift back to more Chinese-dominant patterns of language use.

While Angie maintains that knowing Cantonese is "good" and that knowing languages other than English is "helpful"—particularly for finding a job—in Los

Angeles, the ability to speak Chinese does not equate with the ability to take a strong Chinese identity uncontested. In Text 2.4, the last of Angie's texts to be analyzed, Angie describes through both general argumentation and the narration of a specific personal experience an experience of discrimination that occurred recently at Pasadena City College. In this text, as was the case with Binh earlier in this chapter, Angie tells the story of being rejected by a friend from Hong Kong. This narrative is one of Angie's most developed, and it is her clearest narration of her personal experiences of living in the San Gabriel Valley region.

Text 2.4: *"I speak Cantonese with you"*

Stanza 1

1. Usually they think I'm from Hongkongese
2. you know they're like Hongkongese people
3. always come
4. and talk to me

Stanza 2

5. then later I told them
6. I'm from Vietnam
7. so then they kind of like look me down a little bit

Stanza 3

8. I don't know
9. maybe because like
10. like far away generations

Stanza 4

11. like sometimes
12. like they might think
13. like Vietnamese people like lie too much you know

Stanza 5

14. they might think like
15. we like to steal or we mean

Stanza 6

16. and we're all like
17. not good stuff for them
18. that they could think of you know

Stanza 7

19. but then we could think of the Hongkongese people too you know

Stanza 8

20. like they always say bad words
21. and they always like try to be cool
22. and try to ignore people you know
23. stuff like that

Stanza 9

24. so kinda like
25. a little bit trade off bad stuff from each other
26. looking at each other

Stanza 10

27. one time
28. like my classmate
29. she thought
30. like I'm from Hongkongese
31. but she's Hongkongese

Stanza 11

32. and she asked with me like computer
33. which is CIS 10 class

34. and she was sitting next to me

Stanza 12

35. and she thought
36. like I'm Hongkongese
37. she kept like talking Cantonese with me
38. which is I could speak with her

Stanza 13

39. so she thought in that way
40. until like one day
41. she found out about it

Stanza 14

42. which is like she came to my house
43. and I think
44. my mom talk about Vietnamese words

Stanza 15

45. and she said like
46. "how come I never heard of this kind of language?"

Stanza 16

47. I said "oh it's Vietnamese"

Stanza 17

48. and she say
49. "you're from Hong Kong
50. and you know your mom and dad speaks Vietnamese?"

Stanza 18

51. I said "I'm Vietnamese you know
52. how could I be from Hong Kong?"

Stanza 19

53. which is she found out
54. so she didn't really call me anymore
55. and talk to me

Stanza 20

56. I don't even know what happen

Stanza 21

57. but then
58. I asked her "what happened?"

Stanza 22

59. and she said like you know
60. "my parents does not like Vietnamese people"

61. but then I said *Stanza 23*
62. like you know "that's different
63. I speak Cantonese with you"

Stanza 24

64. and like I don't know
65. she just kind of make up some excuse

Stanza 25

66. I know
67. it hurt me sometimes
68. but yeah
69. I know

Stanza 26

70. but then I never see her parents you know?
71. you get what I mean?

Stanza 27

72. it's like
73. she make it up
74. so I don't mind
75. I mean

Stanza 28

76. but then
77. as long they are good
78. and they never harm you
79. which is like I would criticism [??]
80. or stereotype

Text 2.4 divides into two main sections. In the first section, stanzas 1 through 9, Angie presents a general argument as to why she believes that people from Hong Kong look down on her, though they share a common language. In the second section, stanzas 10 through 28, Angie relates a specific personal experience of rejection by a friend from Hong Kong because Angie's family is from Vietnam. The narrative revolves around Angie's ability to use Cantonese, which builds solidarity with her friend, and her parents' use of Vietnamese in the home, which betrayed Angie's national identity and led to her fateful experience of rejection by her friend.

The first section of Text 2.4 is divided into three subsections. In stanzas 1 and 2, Angie provides a general orientation to the text. "Usually [the Hongkongese people] think I'm from Hongkongese … / then later I tell them I'm from Vietnam / so then they kind of … look me down." The second subsection, stanzas 3 through 6 is comprised of Angie's attempt to rationalize why people from Hong Kong might reject her because of her national origin. In stanzas 7, 8, and 9, the third subsection, Angie shows a sense of defensiveness at the treatment she's received from people from Hong Kong. She concludes this section, with a kind of "stare-down" between "Hongkongese" and "Vietnamese," though not the "pure Vietnamese," whom Angie does not like, as she notes in another text not included here. "A little bit trade off bad stuff from each other / looking at each other" (ll. 25-26).

One of the key features of section 1 of Text 2.4 is the pronoun shift that takes place as Angie seeks to understand her treatment by Hong Kong people. The first two stanzas are characterized by "I" and "they," focusing on Angie's personal experiences of being mistaken for a "Hongkongese" and then being "looked down [on]" when her Vietnamese identity is discovered. As she grapples with the question of her personal experience, Angie shifts away from a personal expression to a more depersonalized questioning of stereotypes of Vietnamese people, characterized by "they/Hongkongese—they/Vietnamese" in stanzas 3 and 4. Angie, however, quickly locates her experience with those of other people from Vietnam, shifting this time to "they [Hongkongese]—we [Vietnamese]" in stanzas 5 through 9. Having located her perspective in the broader category of "Vietnamese," much like the marginalized outsider perspective that she had in Arizona, Angie goes on to look at the stereotypical "bad stuff" that was "traded" between "Hongkongese" and "Vietnamese."

In the second subsection—in stanzas 3, 4, and 5 in particular—Angie marks the conjectural nature of her comments with the adverbial "like," using it eight times in three stanzas. The fronted position of "like" suggests that this is more than just a hedging technique. Angie's usage of "like" allows her to restate views that she clearly knows and has experienced and to distance herself from the Hongkongese stereotypes, claiming a Vietnamese identity. Yet, this is also a technique by which she can mask her true beliefs. Angie identifies with Vietnamese people, having been stigmatized because of her Vietnamese nationality. However, in another text not analyzed here, Angie stated:

Text 2.4a: *"I don't like pure Vietnamese"*

Stanza 1

1. Like I don't like Vietnamese
2. sometimes I don't like Vietnamese people too
3. you know like pure Vietnamese

Stanza 2

4. like I don't want [my future kids] to hang around with like Vietnamese
5. you never know

Stanza 3

6. because like sometimes they are pretty rough you know?
7. I'm not sure about the girls
8. but for sure I know about the guys you know
9. and they always like to smoke
10. and pretty much like when they get into a relationship
11. they're pretty rough you know
12. pretty jealousy
13. you get what I mean?

Angie here suggests that she has had personal experience with "Vietnamese guys," and her evaluation is very similar to that which she attributes to the Hongkongese—"pure Vietnamese people," the men at least, are rough, they smoke, and they tend to be very jealous. This is similar to being "mean" in Text 2.4. She does not comment elsewhere on stealing or lying. However, since she is categorized as being Vietnamese, she takes on the discourse role of Vietnamese-ness. She is not fully comfortable with this role, however, and signals her discomfort with an excessive use of the adverbial "like."

In stanzas 6 through 9, Angie outlines the "stuff" that is "traded" between the Hongkongese and the Vietnamese. While the Hongkongese reject the Vietnamese because their stereotypical activities are stealing, lying, and being mean—claims which Angie does not seek to refute—Angie, as a "Vietnamese" person, claims that the Hongkongese "say bad words, try to be cool, and try to ignore people… stuff like that" (ll. 19-23). Underlying Angie's notion of "trade-off" is a belief system based on experiences much like those of Binh. In the face of class-, nationality, and race-based rejection by Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, Angie asserts a defensive response pointing to stereotypical characteristics of Hongkongese. Like Binh (see *Narrative Profile #1*), Angie distinguishes herself from the "pure Vietnamese" on the basis of her Chinese heritage, yet, unable to claim a fully Chinese identity, Angie finds herself as a member of a pariah class.

In the second section of Text 2.4, Angie narrates an experience of rejection by a classmate from Hong Kong. The narrative divides into four main parts: (1) introduction—stanza 10, (2) building solidarity—stanzas 11-19, (3) excuses—stanzas 20-23, and (4) questions and resolution—stanzas 24-27. Each of the longer sections is marked by different usage of conjunctions and other connectors to mark the particular perspectives that Angie develops in the section.

In stanza 10, Angie introduces an example of "mistaken identity" and rejection. In stanza 1, Angie mentioned that Hongkongese "always come and talk" to her. She parallels this opening statement to develop her personal example. The conjunction "but" signals a kind of dichotomy between what Angie's classmate *thought* she knew about Angie but what Angie *really knew* about her friend.

The dichotomy between the inaccurate perceptions of Angie's classmate and Angie's real, but hidden, knowledge is developed more thoroughly in the narrative in section 2, stanzas 10 to 23. In this section, Angie uses a well-developed pattern of discourse markers to lead the listener to the climax of the story, in which Angie's classmate discovers Angie's "true" identity as a Vietnamese. Angie communicates on two levels, one the experience of her friend which is foregrounded and marked with parallel uses of the conjunctions "and… and… and… so" (ll. 32, 34, 35, and 39; 43, 45, 48, and 53). In the first "and…and…and…so…" sequence, Angie also gives backgrounded contextual information through the use of the phrase "which is…" (ll. 30, 34, 37). In the second series of conjunctions, this background information is not as important to the flow of the narrative, so Angie uses "which is…" only once, in line 53, for the purpose of clarifying that that moment was the one in which her classmate discovered her identity.

In the initial sequence of conjunctions, Angie portrays language in two ways. On the one hand, Angie was able to build a relationship with her classmate, which began through the random event of sitting near each other in class, and developed through their shared knowledge of Cantonese. In this context, Cantonese allowed the two to build a sense of solidarity in an unfamiliar environment. However, at the end of the first sequence, the multilingual context of Angie's family betrays her. Angie's mother speaks some Vietnamese words, which signals to her classmate that Angie is not the "insider" that she had thought.

In the second sequence of conjunctions, Angie builds up to the climax of the story. In stanza 19, Angie relates, "which is she found out / so she didn't really call me anymore / and talk to me." When Angie's hidden identity came to light, the solidarity, formed through shared language, broke down because of class and nationality differences. In this context, language as a symbol of ethnicity was not strong enough to overcome other kinds of barriers.

In stanzas 20 to 24, Angie shifts tone and marks it through a different use of connectors. Here Angie uses the paired conjunctions "but…and…but…and" to mark her disagreement with her classmate. Angie indicates her own initiative and perspective through the use of "but then" and her classmate's response through the use of "and." "But then I asked her what happened / and she said…my parents does not like Vietnamese people" (ll. 57-60). Angie's probe into the change in relationship revealed one level of meaning—her classmate moved Angie from the category of "Hongkongese-potential-friend" to "Vietnamese-untouchable." Angie goes on to question this re-categorization on the basis of language. "But then I said…/ that's different / I speak Cantonese with you" (ll. 61-65). But Angie's attempt at redefinition on the basis of shared ethnicity is rejected. "And…she just kind of make up some excuse" (l. 64-65). Angie's classmate deferred to the ascribed authority of her parents to deflect Angie's claim of co-ethnicity and therefore potential friendship. Angie's classmate successfully redefined Angie as the socially undesirable "Other."

In the last section of Angie's narrative of rejection, stanzas 25 to 28, Angie wrestles with her own feelings of rejection. In stanzas 26 and 27, she suggests that her classmate lied about her parents. But Angie cannot be certain about the true reason that she was rejected. In part this is because, as was noted earlier, she shares some of the same beliefs about "pure Vietnamese" people. The implication is that if her classmate's parents really did have a bias against Vietnamese people, whom they probably hadn't seen, then that was an acceptable reason for the rejection. But Angie feels that she "proved herself" through her use of language with her classmate and therefore the treatment was unjust. Angie concludes the narrative with an unresolved statement about stereotypes. Clearly, Angie is unable to resolve within her the conflict between the way that she has been framed by her classmate, and Angie's own perceptions about herself as being Chinese but from Vietnam. This unresolved tension is one that is shared by many of the interviewees who like Angie have been caught between cultures.

Discussion

One of the themes which connects together Angie's narratives is that of *marginalization which requires action*. In Arizona, Angie was marginalized in the "White and Black" world and was able to have positive experiences by assimilating, or losing her "otherness." The language shift and the "Bible-reading, church-going" methodology undergirding it also reflected a shift to a language ideology that allowed Angie to adapt to the social context. In the San Gabriel Valley, Angie again faced marginalizing forces, this time centered around Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong. Angie sought to overcome her marginal status by hiding aspects of her identity, in this case her "Vietnamese-ness." In both contexts, in order to improve her status and gain access to social benefits Angie negates aspects of her identity and disconnects herself from her personal history. As a result, Angie faced an internal conflict, and in the former context, conflict with her family, over the value of her own language and identity.

Angie's practice of hiding her language abilities and identity is similar in many ways to the practices of Sandy and Maggie, developed in *Narrative Profiles #3* and *#4*. Similarly, Binh, discussed in *Narrative Profile #1*, hid his family's origins in Vietnam to avoid "confusing" people, but he, too, was unable to claim any benefit from his tenuous connection with Vietnam because of the silence in his family history. In both of these cases, Vietnamese-ness is hidden, whether intentionally or unintentionally, and only revealed when the language ability or identity provides a socially desirable benefit. In some contexts, such as Angie's *Arizona*, these languages and identities are lost, as is noted by Khue in *Narrative Profile #6*. Even in the San Gabriel Valley, where, as Angie notes, there are obvious social benefits to knowing multiple language, these benefits are contingent on other factors, especially one's nationality. As Angie discovered, the symbolic value of languages are dependent on the cultural politics and economies that shape the social relations in the region.

Narrative Profile #3: Sandy

Sandy was raised near Cholon, an area of high of high concentration near Saigon, as was Angie, by a family in which Cantonese was the only language spoken. Sandy's father was a carpenter in Vietnam. In her family context only Cantonese was spoken. Sandy attended private Chinese schools from age eight through age fourteen, when her family left Vietnam. Sandy, her parents and five of her ten siblings left Vietnam in 1990, and after spending six months in the Philippines in a refugee camp, Sandy's family were relocated in New York state through the sponsorship of a church there. However, because of the cold climate and the lack of work and social activities for the parents, Sandy and her family moved to Los Angeles with the financial assistance of Sandy's aunt and uncle who had come more than five years earlier. Sandy's family settled in the Lincoln Heights area of Los Angeles, where they have lived since.

One of the striking themes of Sandy's interview is the complex, and at times contradictory attitudes toward language ecology. In particular, Sandy develops a subtractive view of multilingualism, influenced by pragmatic views of specific social contexts, stating in one text: "if you [learn] something, later on you lose other thing" (Text 3.5: ll. 28-29). On the other hand, within the family context, elaborate means are used to maintain, share, and develop Chinese language skills. More than any other interviewee, Sandy outlines strategies used in her family to maintain Cantonese within the family and to develop skills in both spoken and written Chinese in informal ways. Finally, through Sandy's discussion of her own educational motivation and her mother's educational background, Sandy's texts point to the influence of Chinese-Vietnamese family attitudes and practices on gender roles and educational aspirations.

In Text 3.1, Sandy describes her process of learning Vietnamese in the refugee camp in the Philippines. In this text, she introduces the *linguistic pragmatism*, which she further develops in later texts. In addition, this text underscores the influence of social context on "language utility."

Text 3.1: *Learning to speak Vietnamese in the refugee camp*

Stanza 1
1. I think it is like most of the people are Vietnamese
2. not much are Chinese
3. only like few a couple families are Chinese
4. that we could talk to

Stanza 2
5. so that is the place
6. where I learned to speak Vietnamese

Stanza 3
7. because my village
8. my father never think it's useful [to speak Vietnamese]
9. we usually spoke Cantonese

Stanza 4
10. and then that time we went to the Philippines
11. I have to go to school
12. like high school

Stanza 5
13. and then talk to some of the Vietnamese
14. so I learned a lot

Stanza 6
15. until I came here I met some of them
16. I still like keep in touch with some of my high school friends

Stanza 7
17. they spoke like Vietnamese
18.   very useful

One of the key terms in this brief text is the term *useful*. In line 8, Sandy notes that her father didn't feel that it was 'useful' to know Vietnamese when they were living in Vietnam. Instead, Sandy implies that her father found utility in speaking Cantonese. In other words, in Vietnam, the social networks in which Sandy's family participated revolved around the use of Cantonese. Sandy notes in other texts that she only attended Chinese schools in Vietnam. Through language, Sandy's family, and her father in particular, sought to maintain a Chinese identity that was separate from other identities—especially identities offered by the dominant Vietnamese society.

In text 3.1, Sandy does not contest her father's attitude toward Vietnamese, at least directly. Rather, Sandy highlights her belief that the shift in social context from her "village" in Vietnam (Saigon) to the refugee camp in the Philippines, resulted in a shift in the utility of Vietnamese. In the Philippines, Sandy "talk to some of the Vietnamese / and so [she] learned a lot" (ll. 13-14). After coming to the U.S., Sandy was able to keep in touch with some of her high school friends who spoke Vietnamese. Her concluding comment on her ability to keep in touch with her friends is "very useful" (l. 18). It should be noted that the context of this utility is past. The tone of stanzas 4 to 6 suggests that Sandy is reminiscing of a memorable time in her life, but a time which is completely in the past. This point becomes much more important in Text 3.2 when Sandy discusses her language practices in her current social context. At this point, suffice it to say that Sandy does not understand language utility to be a fixed quality of language ability. Rather, language utility shifts according to the context of practice. Knowing more languages is useful if it allows one to communicate with more people in one's social world. This belief, however, is problematic for Sandy, as is shown below.

Another important theme introduced by Sandy in Text 3.1 has to do with the context of language learning. In stanza 4, Sandy says that in the Philippines she had to go to a school, where she met a lot of Vietnamese people. Through that experience, Sandy "learned a lot" (l. 14). Two features of this stanza are notable. First, Sandy learned language not through the context of the 'high school' in the refugee camp—where instruction would have been in English, and would have focused on preparing students for entering into particular social and economic slots in the stratified context of mainstream American society[1]. Rather, "learning a lot" for Sandy meant learning a new language through informal spoken communication with her co-nationals in the camp. In each stanza of Text 3.1, the words 'speak' and 'talk' form the core of Sandy's narrative. Schools are backgrounded; they serve as a backdrop to the context in which "useful" learning –learning the spoken language—takes place. This learning allowed Sandy to form a social network providing support in a transient situation. Throughout the interview, school is backgrounded as a context for language learning. For Sandy, the learning of useful languages takes place through family and peer networks.

Finally, Sandy's use of the term *usefulness* in Text 3.1 is in direct contrast to her reference to her father's attitude. Her father "never think it's useful" to speak Vietnamese (l.8). The change in social context made Vietnamese useful in Sandy's eyes. However, the shift in social context also signals a change in Sandy's relationship to her father. In this text, her father's authority with regards to Vietnamese and Cantonese was unquestioned. His authority, however, is undermined in the new context. Incidentally, this shift in family authority structures as seen in access to linguistic resources in languages other than home language(s)[2] is often seen in immigrant families, and frequently causes problems for older generations who are no longer able to rely on traditional authority structures to maintain control of their children.

---

[1] For a discussion of language education in refugee camps, see for example, Tollefson (1989).

[2] For example, McKay (1993: 75 *ff.*) discusses the complex, multi-directional way in which immigrant families interact with regards to literacy events. In particular, she cites Auerbach's (1989) critique of the transmission model of family literacy, which assumed that literacy skills were transmitted only unidirectionally from parents to children. It can be argued that the same

The influence of social context on the utility of language enters again into Sandy's narrative in Text 3.2. Here Sandy discusses the shifts that she has consciously made in her use of Vietnamese outside of the home. Sandy shows that English is more important in her current social context, and, therefore, takes a more prominent place in her language use patterns. However, Sandy's belief in the utility of languages comes into conflict with another underlying belief, that is the value that she places on preservation of Chinese language identity and the use of Cantonese in her social networks.

Text 3.2: *Language with friends*

Stanza 1

1. PCC?
2. I'm not talking Vietnamese that much

Stanza 2

3. you know what?
4. because my English is not that good
5. so I want to practice more
6. instead of speaking our own language a lot

Stanza 3

7. mostly I

Stanza 4

8. you know Lisa?
9. she know
10. that I understand Vietnamese
11. but she don't know
12. like I speak that in fluent
13. I told her
14. that I just understand and just speak little

---

argument made for the multidirectional transmission of written skills can be made with regards to oral language skills.

Stanza 5

15. that's why
16. I usual speak English with her

Stanza 6

17. she's Teochew
18. but she will speak a little bit of Cantonese

Stanza 7

19. I only spoke to my old friends in Vietnamese
20. cause we used to it

Stanza 8

21. but in here
22. even I met some like Vietnamese
23. I still speak English with them

Stanza 9

24. I have some friends
25. I think they are Cantonese too

Stanza 10

26. but when I meet them first time
27. I spoke like English with them

Stanza 11

28. and later on it was like
29. that meant like a couple months
30. then finally she know that I am Cantonese
31. I know her that Cantonese

Stanza 12

32. then we begin to speak like Cantonese with each other

In Text 3.2, Sandy begins by focusing on her current social context at Pasadena City College. In particular, she emphasizes her conscious choice to switch from Vietnamese to English, even in contexts where it would be natural for her to use Vietnamese. In part, this topic may have been influenced by the fact that Sandy was discussing her language practices with her former ESL teacher. However, Text 3.2 also highlights an underlying contrast between Sandy's development of her beliefs regarding language ecologies and language utility. She does this by mentioning four different types of friends, each of whom she treats in a different way: Lisa, a Vietnamese-dominant Chinese-Vietnamese girl in her ESL class, other Vietnamese speaking classmates and acquaintances in her current social context, and her "old friends" from high school.

In stanzas 1 and 2, Sandy gives her reasons for switching from Vietnamese to English. Her basic argument is that she wants to increase the social contexts in which she has access to English and introduce English into her linguistic networks, rather than relying on Vietnamese. She notes that she wants to "practice [English] more / instead of speaking our own language a lot" (ll. 5-6). It is interesting that Sandy considers Vietnamese "our own language." Her use of the first person pronoun suggests that she is claiming a strong Vietnamese identity, which conflicts with the strong Chinese identity which she claims elsewhere, as well as with her claim that she did not learn Vietnamese until she was in the refugee camp in the Philippines. In a sense, Sandy is attempting to demonstrate her commitment to develop language skills at the expense of her own ethnic identity. This fits in with the belief that she develops later in Texts 3.4 and 3.5 that "if you know something"—like English—"later on you lose other thing" (3.5: ll. 23-24). At the beginning of Text 3.3, Sandy seems to be suggesting that she is willingly giving up her Vietnamese identity in order to take on an identity in which English plays a central role. However, Sandy's linguistic utilitarian representation of herself is undermined later in Text 3.3 by her own practices with fellow Cantonese speakers.

In stanzas 4 and 6, Sandy goes on to give the example of Lisa, another Chinese-Vietnamese girl familiar both to herself and her listener. This is portion of the narrative is parenthetical with regards to Sandy's overall goal of showing how she has shifted from Vietnamese to English in order to improve her skills. However, it provides important insights into underlying conflicting beliefs on which Sandy builds her linguistic practices. She notes that she uses English with Lisa. However, in order to create a social context in which English is an appropriate language for communication, Sandy has to manipulate her identity by hiding her actual ability in Vietnamese, which she considers "fluent" (l. 9-16). In other words, the pragmatic need to acquire spoken skills in English allows Sandy to override the social norms which would require that their communication be in Vietnamese. The linguistic end justifies the linguistic means.

However, immediately after her justification for speaking Vietnamese with Lisa, she points to Lisa's ethnic identity—"she's Teochew / but she will speak a little bit of Cantonese" (ll. 17-18). As a co-ethnic from Vietnam, Lisa does not fit neatly into the category "Vietnamese". Sandy's foregrounding of Lisa's Chinese-ness is significant, particularly given the narrative development in stanzas 7 through 12.

In stanzas 7 and 8, Sandy returns to her original purpose, to show how she has shifted from an identity in which Vietnamese played an important role to an identity in which English is central. This move aligns her with dominant language ideology in which fluency in English opening access to material wealth in the U.S., and a key to assimilation into American culture. To demonstrate this shift, Sandy notes that she only speaks Vietnamese with her "old friends" from high school because they "used to it." In contrast, at PCC she uses English with co-nationals. In fact, her choice to use English is emphasized through the strong contrast signaled by "but in here" (l. 21), as well as her attempt to use "even [though/if] … I still…," a structure which has a Chinese equivalent, and which is emphatic in both English and Chinese. Sandy is saying emphatically that she is choosing the individualistic, assimilationist value of using English at the expense of ethnic ties.

In contrast, in stanzas 9 to 12, Sandy looks at her relationships with "Cantonese friends" in her present social context. Her way of talking about Cantonese friends is the inverse of her discussion of Vietnamese acquaintances. In stanza 8, Sandy presumes to know a Vietnamese person from the first meeting—"even I met some…Vietnamese…." However, Sandy emphasizes that with her Cantonese friends, it wasn't until months later that they finally discovered their connectedness through Cantonese and switched to using Cantonese in the context of their relationship. It is in the context of relationships with Cantonese-speaking friends that Sandy faces the most direct conflict between the ideologies of linguistic utilitarianism and linguistic preservation. With her Cantonese friends, English was an appropriate language as long as they did not know the other's abilities in Cantonese. However, once this discovery is made, the switch was almost immediate: "then finally she know that I am Cantonese / I know her that Cantonese / then we begin to speak like Cantonese with each other" (ll. 30-32).

It should be noted that earlier in the narrative the shift to English focused on Sandy's own volition and agency. For example in the case of Lisa, Sandy was able to hide one aspect of her identity and so she "usual speak English with her." Lisa—who had less developed language skills in Cantonese—was only able to access a part of Sandy's identity which was not central. Therefore, the social norms of language use, which would typically involve a switch to the common language—in this case Vietnamese—do not come into play. In contrast, Sandy's use of language suggests that her Cantonese friends discovered her Cantonese identity, which had been hidden by her use of English. The result was a natural switch to Cantonese. In a sense, Sandy's linguistic choice was determined by the context of her social relationships with other

Chinese speakers. While Sandy could dismiss the usefulness of Vietnamese, which was not central to her ethnic identity because of the change in social context, she could not dismiss Cantonese using the same utilitarian belief. The use of Cantonese is central to Sandy's identity. The indirect route that Sandy takes in this text to show how she switched from using English to Cantonese in this text implies that she knows the social value placed on English—its utility in accessing material goods and its importance as a symbol of social solidarity with dominant American culture—yet she is willing to hold onto a Chinese-oriented identity because of her sense of connectedness in terms of identity and her willingness to abide by social norms. This conflict emerges again with more force, but in a slightly different form in Text 3.3.

In Text 3.3, the issue of hidden ethnicity re-emerges as an important theme. Here, Sandy relates the story of how her sister was rejected by a friend from Hong Kong, and then immediately switches into a discussion of the lack of recognition of non-Chinese-Vietnamese of the language abilities by Chinese from other places. The importance of this "narrative turn" is discussed below. Another theme which re-emerges in these texts has to do with the informal nature of learning, especially language learning. These themes are once again undergirded by a view of language ecology that is based on the belief that learning one language will take away from the ability to use another language.

Text 3.3: *"Private" Chinese language skills*

Stanza 1

1. mostly from Vietnam
2. you know we come from Vietnam
3. mostly our parents Vietnamese or Cantonese or something

Stanza 2

4. I did't know much Hong Kongese

5. I don't know why but
6. I did meet some friends from China
7. but Hong Kong is very less
Stanza 3
8. I didn't feel that way
9. but Amy
10. she has been like hurt
Stanza 4
11. before
12. her friend
13. Hong Kongese
14. didn't know
15. she is come from Vietnam
Stanza 5
16. they talk like usually
Stanza 6
17. and when that girl know
18. that she is Vietnamese
19. she like just turned her face to another way
Stanza 7
20. you know that most of people
21. they don't know Cantonese in Vietnam
22. could learn like the character and other things

Stanza 8
23. a little thing
Stanza 9
24. I have a friend in high school
25. and I was reading Chinese
26. and then she know it
27. she was so surprised
Stanza 10
28. so she asked me like that
29. "how come you guys from Vietnam
30. you know how to read Chinese?"
Stanza 11
31. and then I answered her
32. "in Vietnam we still like could learn
33. English and Chinese and every other thing"
Stanza 12
34. but it's less
35. it's not that much
36. I could get over here
Stanza 13
37. I don't know how to read Vietnamese at all
Stanza 14
38. private
39. actually I went to the house

40. where they just teach us private
41. we pay for every month to learn Cantonese

Stanza 15

42. yeah illegal

Stanza 16

43. but I did go to the private school
44. the legal one
45. for a year
46. for Mandarin
47. they just teach Mandarin math and

Stanza 17

48. but the private house
49. that was also
50. some of them teach both
51. some of them teach Cantonese only
52. and some of them teach Mandarin

Text 3.3 developed out of a discussion of where most of Sandy's friends come from. Just prior to Text 3.3, Sandy mentioned that most of her friends spoke Cantonese. In this text, she notes that she has very few friends from Hong Kong, but a number—most likely Cantonese speaking—from China. Since Sandy observed that she had few friends from Hong Kong, a follow-up question was asked regarding experiences of receiving "second class treatment" by people from Hong Kong, as this was a common theme that emerged in many of the interviews. In one brief, unelaborated portion of text, in stanzas 4 to 6, Sandy tells the story of how her younger sister, Amy, was rejected by a friend from Hong Kong because of Amy's Vietnamese nationality. Sandy notes that Amy's friend "just turned her face to another way," an image suggesting that the friend from Hong Kong refused to acknowledge Amy's existence, or at least refused to view her any longer in the category of friend. It is noteworthy, however, that Sandy's description of the event is generally unemotional. She does not carry the same sense of rejection that characterized Binh's recounting of a similar event. This may be due to a somewhat different social context—Sandy went to school in Los Angeles at Lincoln High School, which had a somewhat different demographic makeup from those of high schools in the San Gabriel Valley proper.

What is interesting about Sandy's recounting of her sister's story, however, is the way in which she frames the story. Immediately after Sandy tells the story of Amy's rejection, she shifts from the intra-ethnic conflict of stanza 6 to stanza 7, which, in effect, justifies her sister's treatment. In stanza 6, Sandy claims that "most of the people / they don't know Cantonese in Vietnam / could learn like the character or other things." Juxtaposed against the story of intra-ethnic discrimination against Amy, this claim generalizes beyond the immediate context of the discrimination, and refocuses on the fact that many people, including Amy's friend from Hong Kong, apparently didn't know that Amy had "learn[-ed] the character and other things." In essence, Sandy is looking for an underlying reason for her sister's experience of rejection. She finds this reason in other people's lack of awareness of the educational context in Vietnam. Sandy's shift to the more generic "most people" and "Cantonese in Vietnam" signals her understanding of the stereotype that had influenced Amy's relationship with her friend: Cantonese people from Vietnam are uneducated. Had Amy's friend known that Amy received an adequate education in Chinese and other subjects in Vietnam, Sandy implies, the friend would not have rejected Amy so offhandedly. Thus, through the narrative turn of stanza 7, Amy locates the problem of discrimination by people from Hong Kong, and others like them, in the stereotype of the weak educational background of Chinese people from Vietnam.

To support her claim, Sandy gives a personal example—"a little thing"—in stanzas 8 to 11. In this brief story, Sandy was observed reading Chinese by one of her friends in high school. This friend was surprised that Sandy, being from Vietnam, knew how to read Chinese. Interestingly, Sandy's response does not deal with the question of ethnic identity, but shifts, rather, to the question of general educational background. Moving from her earlier point of learning "the character," Sandy here argues that in Vietnam she could still learn "English and Chinese and every other thing" (ll. 32-33). Sandy is initially somewhat defensive regarding her educational background—"In Vietnam, we still like could learn…"—but removed from the social context of direct dialogue with her high school friend, she recognizes the limitations of her own educational history, noting in stanza 8 that "it's less / it's not that much as I could" (ll. 34-36).

Sandy's "little thing" serves several purposes in the flow of her story. First, it connects her on an experiential level with her sister, Amy. In stanza 3, Sandy found a disconnection between her experiences and Amy's—Amy had had an experience of rejection that Sandy had not. But on reflection, Sandy affirms that both of them have experienced negative treatment from other people, based on a misconception or stereotype that others have about Cantonese people from Vietnam—that they are uneducated, and that most uneducated people are poor and undesirable. Sandy's "little thing" also allows her to reflect on her own educational background, which, she recognizes, has significant limitations. Her reflection also reinforces the belief that she develops of subtractive bilingualism—that learning one thing means losing something else. In this case, she continues in the last part of the Text to suggest that her learning to read characters in Vietnam meant that she did not learn to read Vietnamese (l. 37). In fact the flow of stanza 11—from "but it's less / it's not that much / I could get over here"—intensifies the sense that Sandy's education in Vietnam was inadequate to prepare her for her current social context.

In stanzas 13 to 16, Sandy discusses her eight years of schooling in Vietnam. The operative words in these stanzas are "private" and "just". In stanza 13, Sandy notes, "I went to a house / where they just teach us private" (ll. 39-40). Again, in stanza 15, referring to a different school, "but I did go to the private school / the legal one / for a year / for Mandarin / they just teach Mandarin, math, …" (ll. 43-47). In stanza 16, the house of the teacher where they learned Cantonese was also referred to as "the private house" (l. 48). Seven of the eight years in Vietnam, Sandy learned Cantonese at the home of a teacher. At the time, such private home schools were illegal. Classes were also conducted in Cantonese, which contradicted the official practice of teaching Mandarin in schools. In a sense, most of Sandy's education in Vietnam was both private—hidden from "official eyes"—and subversive, undermining government programs and official practices of Chinese education. Only one year of her education took place in an officially sanctioned school, where she learned Mandarin, math and other subjects, and none of her education took place in government schools.

In addition to presenting her education as hidden, or private, Sandy's use of *just* also suggests that her education was limited in Vietnam. In this respect, stanzas 13 to 16are a development of her claim in stanza 11 that "it's less / it's not that much / I could get over here" and in stanza 10 that "I don't know how to read Vietnamese at all." In essence, learning Cantonese was a private subject, learned in a private house, which limited Sandy's participation in the social context—she did not have the literacy skills to participate fully in Vietnamese society. At this point, however, Sandy's reasoning has become complex. In text 3.1 and 3.2, Sandy's narratives suggested that Vietnamese was useful, but only in the context of her high school classmates in Vietnam. Earlier in Text 3.3, Sandy argued that in Vietnam she was able to learn

"English and Chinese and other things." It can be argued from this text, and from Sandy's development of ideas in later texts, that she views her education in Vietnam as limited precisely because of its hiddenness. Her learning of Cantonese was useful because it provided access to material goods and to a relatively higher status ethnic identity. However, because of the hidden, unofficial way in which this language skill was acquired, Sandy has no "credentials" which can be recognized in a more public context. She is tied into a pattern of reproducing an "unofficial" identity, which in her current social setting does not carry the same benefits as it did in Vietnam. However, as can be seen particularly clearly in Text 3.5, Sandy does not regret or passively accept the informal aspect of her linguistic identity, but reinforces it through well developed strategies of language maintenance and development in the context of her family.

The theme of limitation emerges clearly in Text 3.4, where Sandy continues to develop her subtractive view of languages—that learning one takes away from another. In Text 3.4, we also see the re-emergence of Sandy's views toward learning English. Again, Sandy emphasizes the informal context of language learning, wishing that she had been "born in the United States / cause…my grammar is not that good." In Text 3.4, Sandy claims that multilingualism is good but language abilities are limited. She suggests that she would trade her unofficial Cantonese language ability and identity for one oriented around the use of (standard) English but lacks the appropriate informal contexts to acquire that knowledge.

Text 3.4: *Languages: "You can't handle too much things"*

Stanza 1

1. To me the more language you know
2. is better

Stanza 2

3. like some people come here
4. to this country
5. without speaking English

Stanza 3

6. if I spoke like the same language that they are
7. then you could talk
8. and help them
9. it means like that

Stanza 4

10. to me what people you are
11. you are
12. not like proud of you are Hong Kong or American

Stanza 5

13. like what I felt is
14. I really want to born in United States

Stanza 6

15. cause I'm feel now
16. my grammar is not that good

Stanza 7

17. and then even though some like the basic word
18. I don't understand that much

Stanza 8

19. you know those who born here
20. they know more things
21. even though the basic like the pronunciation
22. they can pronounce
23. whatever they saw

Stanza 9

24. and then to me is not that

Stanza 10

25. so I think
26. that people who were born here
27. have the bigger opportunity to learn English

Stanza 11

28. I know
29. that if I were born here
30. maybe I don't know how to speak
31. I mean write or read Cantonese

Stanza 12

32. If you have this
33. you might lose this

Stanza 13

34. what I think is this

35. you cannot handle too much things

Stanza 14

36. but its depend on you
37. like if you want to learn or not

Sandy begins Text 3.4 with generic support for the idea of multilingualism. In fact, throughout Text 3.4, Sandy uses a number of informal generalizations marked by the pronoun "you" to her beliefs about languages and general language abilities. These general principles are juxtaposed with statements about Sandy's perceived lack of ability in English, marked by the pronoun "I" and the perceived abilities of people born in the U.S., marked by the preposition "they". The juxtaposition of these three sets of personal pronouns serves to highlight the contradiction that Sandy has experienced in the U.S.

In stanzas 1 and 2 of Text 3.4, Sandy presents the first of her generalizations, in this case about the utility of knowing many languages. She begins with the strong claim that "the more languages you know / is better." This strong claim is undermined, however, by the example that she proceeds to give in stanza 3. For Sandy, knowing languages other than English can be useful in the context of "people who come here- / to this country without speaking English" (ll. 3-5). In other words, if everyone spoke English, other languages would not be useful. In fact, other languages can be detrimental, as Sandy claims in the third of her generalizations in stanza 11. Rather than strengthening the claim for the value of multilingualism, Sandy's example underscores the utility of knowing English. If she were multilingual, she "talk and help them" (l. 7-8). Presumably, the help offered would be to connect 'outsiders' with the benefits enjoyed by English-speaking 'insiders.' If that were the case, Sandy could consider herself an insider. It is noteworthy, however, that Sandy leaves this example as a generalization and does not give any personal examples. Instead, she goes on to present her perception of herself as a linguistic outsider in stanzas 5 through 10.

In stanza 4, Sandy returns to her general theme of pragmatism. National identity is not something to be proud of but something to be accepted. "To me, what people you are you are" (l.10-11). However, as with the first generalization in this text, Sandy weakens her argument through the development of her ideas. Immediately after her generalization, she shifts to her more personal experience. In stanzas 5 and 6, Sandy uses the word "feel" to signal two deficiencies that she sees in herself. *Feel* intensifies the nearness of the experience for her in her current social context. "Like what I felt is / I really want to born in the United States" (ll. 13-14). Here, she is not contradicting her earlier claim "what people you are you are." Instead, she ties the issue of her birth country with her perceived lack of grammar and vocabulary in English. As a linguistic outsider, Sandy feels that she has not had access to the informal contexts in which she could learn the grammar of English, and therefore she is deficient. Had she been born in the U.S., she would have had good grammar and would understand even the most basic words.

In stanzas 7 and 8 Sandy contrasts herself—a linguistic outsider—with linguistic insiders, who were born in the U.S. Sandy claims that those born in the U.S. "know more things / even though the basic like the pronunciation" (ll. 20-21). In lines 17 to 23, puts together parallel emphatic structures to show how little she knows. The repetition of "even though…basic" is used to show both Sandy's inability—"I don't understand"—and the idealized ability of the person born in the U.S.—"they can…." Stanza 9 pointedly shows that even the knowledge that Sandy thought she had, turned out to be wrong: "And then to me is not that." This implies that in contexts where

Sandy has been able to interact with U.S.-born speakers, she has had to call into question even the limited knowledge that she thought she had. The difference, she concludes, is "that people who were born here have the bigger opportunity to learn English" (l. 21).

The depersonalization of the context of this interaction through the use of the more distant pronoun "they" suggests that Sandy's interactions with U.S.-born speakers has been limited and inadequate for her to begin to form an insider's perspective on language and life in the U.S. This is reinforced by the fact that in all of the texts, Sandy only recounts in a personal way using English with others born outside of the U.S.—in contrast to her opening remarks in Text 3.4 on the utility of multilingualism. Real utility in the American social context, then, lies with English. And Sandy feels that she does not have the opportunity to gain access to the informal social contexts in which English can be acquired. As a result, she has no access to the utilitarian value of English.

In stanza 11, Sandy suggests that the implication of her desire to be born in the U.S. is that she would not "know how to … write or read Cantonese." Tacit in this statement is the understanding that the social environment of the U.S. which she has experienced since coming to this country hinders the development of literacy in languages other than English. In essence, Sandy is contrasting two possibilities for her life: (1) to be born outside the U.S. and have the capacity for learning to read and write Cantonese, and (2) to be born in the U.S. and possibly speak Cantonese, but most likely not read or write it. The latter situation would be preferable, she suggests, based on her stated desire in stanza 5.

The desire to be born in the U.S. and the acceptance of the perceived consequence, that she would not be able to read or write or possibly even speak Cantonese, frames one of the themes that runs through the interview with Sandy, which she states in stanzas 12 and 13: "If you have this, you might lose this / what I think is this / you cannot handle too many things / but it depend on you / like if you want to learn or not." In this context, Sandy means that if she had been born in the U.S., she wouldn't know how to read and write Cantonese, but she would be fluent in English. She was born in Vietnam but attended Cantonese schools instead of Vietnamese schools; therefore, she lacks the ability to read Vietnamese and is limited in her fluency in English. In all of the contexts in which Sandy has been taught, multiple literacies have been tolerated but discouraged. Thus, in the context of school, "you cannot handle too many things." However, in informal contexts, "its depend on you / like if you want to learn or not." In fact, Sandy's richest examples—for example her learning of Vietnamese in Text 3.1, as well as numerous examples involving the learning of Cantonese in Texts 3.5 and 3.6—take place in informal contexts, particularly in the home setting. In no case does she bring together rich examples of language learning with the context of school. The onus remains on the individual ("its depend on you") or the family to provide a context which is rich enough for the acquisition of language. Where economic concerns prevail, however, the provision of a rich context among family members is not always possible.

In Text 3.5, Sandy considers the loss of Vietnamese and Cantonese that she sees in her family.

Text 3.5: ***To lose or not to lose our languages***

Stanza 1

1. if for some people
2. for me is important [to know how to read and write Chinese]

Stanza 2

3. why don't you focus on separate thing
4. not only one thing

Stanza 3

5. like here in United States
6. of course you focus on English right?
7. I know that it's important

Stanza 4

8. but it's not just English is important
9. it might be another thing

Stanza 5

10. like my brother's friend
11. he have a boy like five years old

Stanza 6

12. he told my brother
13. that whenever his son come from school
14. he has to speak Cantonese at home

Stanza 7

15. wow
16. he say that in school
17. they are gonna learn like English
18. and then if they come home
19. and speak English again
20. they might speak Cantonese less and less
21. and maybe will lost

Stanza 8

22. I know
23. that if you know something
24. and later on you lose other thing

Stanza 9

25. you are wondering why
26. why don't you keep on
27. before you lose them

Stanza 10

28. like my sister Amy
29. she came here
30. when she was like 10 or 11

Stanza 11

31. right now
32. she understand all of the Vietnamese
33. but she didn't try

Stanza 12

34. in high school
35. even though she met some Vietnamese

36. she still like speak English with them
37. not mention Vietnamese

Stanza 13

38. in the family
39. I think
40. that writing letter helps her
41. keep in touch with some of her friends in Vietnam through her letter

Stanza 14

42. and then she might forgot some of the words
43. but it's not that much

Stanza 15

44. when she write letter
45. she might forgot some words
46. she might ask me or my father to help her
47. I think that is the way

Stanza 16

48. my uncles and aunts
49. they come here more than 15 years

Stanza 17

50. and then their children
51. like my cousins
52. in Vietnam
53. they did go to school for Cantonese
54. but when they come here
55. they lost it a lot

Stanza 18

56. and then when in the 1990
57. that's very popular right?
58. after 1990s karaoke
59. and then they sang
60. and then they remembering a lot

Stanza 19

61. I had a friend too
62. she was born in Vietnam too
63. she's Cantonese
64. but she lived in the Vietnamese town
65. she used to speak Vietnamese not Cantonese

Stanza 20

66. and when she come here
67. she sing in the karaoke
68. and then she memorized the word
69. she could read but not writing
70. she already know how to speak
71. but the way of reading is from karaoke

Stanza 21

72. I know some of them that way

Stanza 22

73. I might if I could

74. I would talk to his [my nephew's] parents
75. to send him to Chinese school on Saturday or Sunday
76. something like that

Stanza 23

77. also he used to speak Cantonese at home
78. right now is little
79. because he went to school
80. and he know some of the English
81. and then he just spoke few words in the house

Stanza 24

82. and then we usually have the Hong Kong movies
83. and sometimes if we don't have any Hong Kong movies
84. then we just go to some video store
85. and rent the English movie
86. so he might learn something from those

Stanza 25

87. you know even though my those older sisters and brothers
88. they been in school to learn
89. but right now most of them are forgetting
90. like losing their Vietnamese

Stanza 26

91. only one of my sister can read some
92. whenever we have like Vietnamese reading paper
93. she is the one who read it for us

Text 3.5 begins in response to a question about Sandy's nephew Timothy, who currently lives with the family while his parents are working in Las Vegas. The text seeks to deal with two underlying questions, which give it coherence. Namely, the questions deal with: 1) which languages Sandy's family should maintain—that is resist the inevitable process of 'loss' or 'forgetting'—and, 2) how her family should go about maintaining spoken and written languages in an environment characterized by the hegemony of English. In this text, which is oriented around family and peer networks, Sandy takes a very different approach than she did in Text 3.4, which focuses on her personal experiences of limitations in English. Text 3.5 orients itself around the future

of Cantonese in the family, following Sandy's claims that English will naturally come into the family through younger family members schooled entirely in the U.S. but that "it's not just English is important / it might be another thing"
(ll. 8-9).

For Sandy, knowing more than one language, and specifically knowing Cantonese, "might be important." Yet schooling in the U.S. contributes to language attrition in languages other than English, a process to which children frequently contribute as a result of their socialization into the American school system. Sandy goes on to use examples to show the central role of the family in resisting the process of language attrition, but argues that ultimate authority for decision-making regarding language maintenance or attrition rests with the individual.

The first half of Text 3.5 involves two general claims and two parallel examples. The first claim, as has been noted, is that knowing how to read and write Cantonese might be important. To support this claim, Sandy uses an example, her brother's friend and son, from her family's informal social network. In this example, the friend requires his five-year-old son to use only Cantonese in the home as a strategy to prevent language attrition in the family. She then shifts to her second general principle—that "if you know something / and later you lose other thing" (ll. 23-24). Here Sandy shifts the topic from the uncontroversial example of using Cantonese at home to develop her views on language ecology as it relates to family-based social networks.

Sandy's second example, parallel to the first, again has to do with the increasing role of English at the expense of other languages, but it is markedly different from the first example. First, there is a shift in perspective from that of an older male parent to that of a younger female "child"—from the perspective of her brother's friend, to that of her sister Amy. A second, related, difference has to do with agency. On the one hand, the friend's son seemed to have no choice with regards to using Cantonese at home; this is to support Sandy's argument that "another thing," not only English might be important, at least from the perspective of the parents, or older generation males. On the other hand, Sandy notes that Amy has both the language ability and the social context to use Vietnamese but refuses to do so—Amy in this example has affirmed her belief that to learn English, she must give up Vietnamese. However, the example of Amy has a number of subtleties which lead to a deeper level of analysis. In the context of the interview, Sandy mentioned that Amy, like Sandy, had not attended Vietnamese schools, and Amy had had the experience of rejection by a girl from Hong Kong. Consequently, Cantonese was probably a preferred means of communication for Amy. In the example in stanzas 10 to 12, Amy chose to give up a secondary language, not her primary one. The issue, then, is one of the *usefulness* of Vietnamese, as discussed in Text 3.1. Sandy introduced the example with a rhetorical question: "You are wondering why / why don't you keep on / before you lose them?" (ll. 25-27). With the example of Amy she begins to answer this question. With regards to a secondary langauge, Vietnamese, Amy could "understand all of the Vietnamese / but she didn't try" (ll. 31-33). In other words, Amy did not want to maintain social networks based on Vietnamese.

The example of Amy is striking for two other reasons, as well. First, as was seen in Text 3.2, Sandy herself had abandoned the use of Vietnamese in her current social networks, even to the point of hiding her ability to use the language when necessary to create social contexts to practice English. Her own pattern of language use parallels that of her sister, but Sandy has two different purposes in presenting the language patterns. In Text 3.2, Sandy's focus was on her own motives and patterns as an individual relating with others outside of the home environment. In contrast, Text 3.5 centers on language practices in the family context, and the ability of Sandy's family to maintain Cantonese. In Text 3.5, Sandy is affirming that some languages are expendable, while others—namely Cantonese—are not. Families must work hard to maintain core language competencies of family members. Languages provide access to social networks. Amy's example shows more that Amy was rejecting a specific Vietnamese-based social network rather than the language itself. A second striking feature of Amy's example is that in the context of the interview, Sandy refers to a fact that is known by both participants in the interview context—that Amy is dating a Vietnamese man and that her parents look unfavorably on the relationship. In short, the example of her sister is used as a rhetorical device to answer her question regarding "keeping on" versus "losing" languages.

The dichotomy of "keeping" versus "losing" languages, also framed as "forgetting" versus "remembering," begins in stanza 5 and runs throughout Text 3.5. In stanza 7, school contributes to language loss; speaking Cantonese at home helps younger family members keep the language. As discussed above, stanzas 8 and 9 contain Sandy's general views of language ecology. In the example of Amy, Sandy implies that Amy didn't "keep on" in her knowledge of Vietnamese in high school, and therefore was in danger of "losing" her language abilities because "she didn't try." In stanzas 14 and 15, the word "forget" figures prominently. Writing letters to friends in Vietnam and asking for help from Sandy and her father will help Amy forget less. In stanzas 16 and 17, Sandy suggests that living in the U.S. caused her cousins to lose their ability to speak Cantonese, but singing karaoke helped them remember. Similarly, singing karaoke helped another friend learn to read Cantonese. In stanza 23, she relates that her nephew is speaking Cantonese less since going to school; Chinese school is one possible means to help him remember. Finally, Sandy's older brothers and sisters—as was the case with Amy—are losing their ability to use Cantonese; however, no strategies are offered to help them remember it.

In Sandy's examples, as in the two initial examples, there are two kinds of language loss: 1) the younger generation's loss of spoken and written Cantonese, and 2) the older generation's loss of Vietnamese. In stanzas 13 to 21, Sandy focuses more specifically on strategies used by the family to help younger family members "remember" how to read and write Cantonese. All three of the examples have to do with family- or peer-network-oriented literacy events, one involving the use of writing and two involving the use of reading Cantonese. In the first of her three examples, Sandy again focuses on her sister Amy, suggesting that her sister could keep some of her language skills by "keeping in touch" with her friends in Vietnam. In that way, her sister might not lose as much of her language skills as she might without writing letters. The issue of keeping in touch ties back into Sandy's comments about her own use of Vietnamese, seen in Texts 3.1 and 3.2. In those contexts, Sandy used Vietnamese to "keep in touch" with her Vietnamese friends from high school, and she found Vietnamese to be *useful* for that purpose. However, in this text, the ability to write Cantonese is not framed in a context of *usefulness*, and it takes place in the home, signaling a different meaning for written Cantonese than for spoken Vietnamese. In Text 3.5, Sandy recognizes that loss of language takes place in the U.S., but that mutual language support built around the context of the family helps the family maintain some of their shared knowledge of written Cantonese. In addition, the current context of family relationships, and the future orientation of the example—"she might forget some of the words / but it's not that much" (ll. 33-34)—suggest that Sandy does not restrict the importance of written Cantonese to past relationships.

In stanzas 16 to 18, Sandy relates the story of her cousins who had studied Cantonese in Vietnam, and who "lost it a lot" after coming to the U.S., but who "remembering a lot" as a result of the growth in popularity in singing karaoke. In most cases, karaoke, which originated in Japan but quickly spread throughout Asia and later to the U.S. and elsewhere as a popular form of entertainment, involves both spoken and written language, as karaoke Chinese karaoke videos have music and visual images accompanied with Chinese characters which are sung by one or more participants. In Chinese-speaking contexts, karaoke is often used among both family- and peer-networks. During special celebration times, and at other times, the family will gather together and as part of the event take turns singing popular songs. Because of the influence of popular Hong Kong media– both film and music—as well as Chinese and Taiwanese media karaoke videos in Cantonese are widely available and popular. Singing karaoke involves both spoken and written texts, and it is a group event. Thus, when language difficulties are encountered—for example, when the singer encounters an unknown character—other family members or peers are present and provide the necessary linguistic information for the singer. In this way, Sandy's karaoke example is parallel to her first example of letter writing. Family members support one another in the acquisition of literacy. In addition, the parallel structures in the second example "when they come here they lost it a lot" and "then they sang and they remembering a lot" (ll. 54-55, 59-60) intensifies Sandy's claim that using karaoke helps the family keep their ability to read Cantonese.

In stanzas 19 and 20, Sandy develops a second example of using karaoke to promote literacy. In this case, she uses an example from her peer network—a friend from Vietnam who was not even Cantonese dominant but learned to read through the words on the karaoke video. Sandy contrasts her friends with her cousins, noting that her friend "lived in the Vietnamese town / she used to speak Vietnamese, not Cantonese" (ll. 64-65), where as her cousins "in Vietnam they did go to school for Cantonese" (l. 52-53). A second contrast has to do with their initial experience in the U.S. Referring to her cousins, Sandy states, "when they come here, they lost a lot" (l. 54-55). In a contrasting parallel, Sandy notes that "when she come here / she sing in the karaoke / and then she memorized the word" (ll. 66-68). Sand concludes the three linked examples by noting that she herself has acquired skills through karaoke.

Memorization, as seen in the third example, is an important learning strategy involved in keeping language. In a different part of the interview not included in the six texts, Sandy describes one of her sisters who she says is not proficient in any language; "she only read like a little bit of Cantonese." In the following excerpt, the link between memorization, learning, and adaptation can be seen:

Text 3.5a: Sandy's sister

Stanza 1

1. I have a sister like that
2. she only read like a little bit of Cantonese

Stanza 2

3. I don't know why
4. because when she was little
5. my parents would send them to school

Stanza 3

6. but she is the one like memorize things very poor
7. my parents didn't force her to go to school or anything

Stanza 4

8. my friends know

9. my she is like that
10. even go to learn
11. she cannot learn something

Stanza 5

12. it's very hard for her to look for a job
13. doesn't have enough English to do very well

In stanzas 2 and 3 of Text 3.5a, it is apparent that Sandy's parents invested in this sister's education, as they had in the other children's education, but schooling did not help her learn because she lacked the ability to memorize. Or, as Sandy emphatically phrases it in stanza 4, "even she go to learn / she cannot learn something." As a result of her inability to memorize, and therefore to learn, Sandy claims that her sister has a hard time looking for a job. Sandy's sister is unable to capitalize on the utility of language, which has economic implications for the family. As she can not get a job, she is also unable to contribute to the economic welfare of the family.

Memorizing language is the core of language learning for Sandy. And, language learning has a very strong economic motivation, to get a job. Consequently, Sandy's mention in Text 3.5 of karaoke as a medium for learning—through memorization—has implications not only for maintaining a strong Cantonese identity, or keeping Cantonese-based social networks alive, but also for providing language skills which in the immigrant economy can be converted into job opportunities.

In response to a second question about her nephew's learning to read and write Cantonese, Sandy continues the theme of strategies for slowing the loss of Cantonese in the family context. The weakest of the strategies that Sandy provides in Text 3.5 has to do with sending her nephew to Chinese school. Elsewhere in the interview, Sandy mentioned that in Chinese school in Vietnam she had had to do dictations and memorize characters. Overall, she does not elaborate on her experiences in Chinese school or those of family members or friends. But in stanza 22, her use of hypothetical modals—"I *might* if I *could* / I *would* talk to his parents"—suggests a great deal of uncertainty about the effectiveness of Chinese schools or the willingness of her family to send her brother there. The conclusion of the stanza echoes the tone of uncertainty—"something like that" (l. 76). Overall the tone of the stanza is in marked contrast to the examples that come before and after it—examples rooted in family language practices.

The word 'school' occurs three times in the last section, stanzas 22 to 26, of Text 3.5. In each case, school is not a place of effective language learning in Sandy's mind. The first example, as noted, is that of a Chinese school for her nephew. The uncertainty signaled in stanza 19 suggests that weekend Chinese school is not a strong support in learning to read Cantonese. The second mention of school, again referring to Sandy's nephew, is more negative with respect to language maintenance. Sandy states, "also he used to speak Cantonese at home / right now is little / because he went to school and he know some of the English" (ll. 77-80). This fits generally within Sandy's belief that "getting something means giving up something." However, in this case what is lost is Cantonese, and loss of Cantonese is very serious to Sandy and her family as her example in stanza 23—discussed below—shows.

In between her second and third examples regarding school, Sandy outlines her family's use of videos to support linguistic development. Stanza 24 is tied to stanza 23 through the parallel usage of the connector "and then" in lines 81 and 82. In effect, Sandy points to "the Hong Kong movies" as a means of promoting her nephew's fluency in Cantonese. Interestingly, Sandy goes on to suggest that if there is no Hong Kong movie available "then we just go to some video store and rent the English movie

/ so he might learn something from those" (ll. 84-86). While Sandy suggests that her nephew "might learn something" by watching "Hong Kong videos," much as she had argued for the influence of karaoke, Sandy weakens her position through her inclusion of English videos. "Learning something" in this case not only includes maintaining Cantonese, but it also involves "learning English," a marked contrast from the position of her brother's friend in stanzas 5 to 7. The uncertainty signaled in Sandy's statement, "so he *might* learn something" suggests not only that video is not a very effective means of learning but also that regardless the family's efforts to maintain the use of Cantonese in the household English will enter the family's language networks through one means or another.

Sandy's third mention of school also has a negative tone because of the context in which she places it. In stanza 25, Sandy notes, "you know even though my older sisters and brothers / they been in school to learn / but right now most of them are forgetting / like losing their Vietnamese" (ll. 87-90). In other words, school is ineffectual in the struggle to keep or remember languages. Even though Sandy's older brothers and sisters have not necessarily gained language—in that they have not gone to school in the U.S.—they have still lost language ability. Here again, as was the case in stanzas 5 through 12, Sandy thematically ties her siblings' loss of Vietnamese—this time including the loss of literacy skills—with the younger generations' loss of Cantonese. In stanzas 10 to 12, Sandy said that her younger sister Amy had chosen not to use Vietnamese in peer networks in high school. In a parallel way, in stanzas 25 and 26, Sandy implies that her older siblings have chosen not to maintain their literacy skills. Instead, they rely on one sister to serve as the linguistic resource for the family. Sandy notes, "only one of my sister can read some / whenever we have like

Vietnamese, reading paper / she is the one who read it for us" (ll. 76-78). Thus, the loss of spoken and written language skills in Sandy's family is accepted as part of life in America. Giving up Vietnamese can even allow them to fit in with the dominant ideology to a certain degree by "giving up" other languages in favor of English. Yet, as much as possible, they still seek to maintain a Cantonese identity in family and peer language networks.

The belief that Sandy demonstrates in the effectiveness of non-formal learning in the family context and the questionable usefulness of schooling is a topic that re-emerges in a fuller way in Text 3.6. In this text, school emerges as a gendered activity in the context of Sandy's family. Sandy relates how her parents' expectation—and more specifically, her mother's experience of being denied a formal education—has shaped Sandy's own educational aspirations.

Text 3.6: *Not many family expectations*

Stanza 1

1. my mom mostly
2. what she want is
3. me and my little sister
4. actually is my older brother too
5. three of us
6. my parents want us to have some education
7. to find jobs easier

Stanza 2

8. but finally my older brother
9. he drop out from high school
10. then only me and my sister are going to college

Stanza 3

11. but actually my father and mom thought like
12. didn't expect that much

Stanza 4

13. even though I talked to her about

14. maybe I go to four-year college

Stanza 5

15. and then she said that
16. "why don't you go to a two-years first
17. after you graduate two-year
18. and later on
19. if you want to go to a four-year
20. then you go to ahead
21. if you don't want to
22. quit and like work
23. go to work"

Stanza 6

24. you know like at the old times
25. my mom really want to like go to school
26. but her grandparents didn't let her

Stanza 7

27. they say that
28. "why you are a girl
29. why you like have education
30. for what?"

Stanza 8

31. so she didn't go to school
32. but most of the word that she know
33. is from the newspaper
34. she used to read and practice
35. that is the way she learned

Stanza 9

36. even my parents don't know Vietnamese at all
37. just speaking
38. but reading and writing
39. they don' t know

Stanza 10

40. but my mom
41. when we come here
42. for the documents
43. she did all of them

Stanza 11

44. I don't know how
45. mostly she do her own

Text 3.6 is divided into two main sections. In the first section, stanzas 1 through 5, Sandy relates her parents' expectations and her mother's advice regarding Sandy's schooling. In the second section, stanzas 6 though 11, Sandy tells her mother's experience of being denied an education and having to find means of overcoming the restrictions placed on her by the authority figures in her life, Sandy's grandparents. In fact, the prominent figure throughout Text 3.6 is not Sandy, but her mother. In Text 3.6, a number of parallels emerge between Sandy and her mother, particularly with regards to the informal nature of learning and motivation to gain literacy when formal schooling is inaccessible.

One of the key words or concepts that connects this text together is the verb 'want, ' and more particularly Sandy's mother's 'wants.' In stanza 1, Sandy notes, "what she *want* is me and my little sister ... / to have some education / to find jobs easier" (ll. 2-3, 6-7). Later, in stanza 4, quoting her mother's advice regarding her education, Sandy says, "'why don't you get a a two-years first / after you graduate two-year and later on if you *want* a four year / then you can go ahead / if you *don't want* to / quit and … / go to work" (ll. 15-23). Later, in stanza 6, looking back on her mother's childhood, Sandy relates, "My mom really *want* to like go to school / but her grandparents didn't let her." Citing her grandparents' response to her mother, Sandy states in stanza 7, "they say that 'why you are a girl / why you *like* have education? / for what?'" (ll. 27-30). From these expressions of want, two parallels emerge—the desire of parents regarding their daughters' education, and the desire of young women for learning.

In stanza 1, Sandy relates her mother's desire that her two youngest daughters have some education. The purpose of this education is for employment, framing schooling in a very pragmatic way. Three stanzas later, Sandy reveals a deeper layer of her mother's desire for Sandy's education—her mother's suggestion that Sandy "go to a two-years first" and "later on if you want to go to a four year then go to ahead" (ll. 16, 19-20). On the surface, stanza 5 seems to point to Sandy's mother's support for

Sandy to get as much education as she wants. However, the repetition of "work" at the end of the stanza suggests that the focus of education is getting a job. On the one hand, there is an implied cost and benefit analysis by Sandy's mother—*some* education helps her daughter get a job, but too much education might be too costly. Getting a two-year degree allows for a further analysis of the costs and benefits of more education. On the other hand, there is an underlying uncertainty about whether or not Sandy will *want* to get more education. The parallel between Sandy's and her mother's "wanting education" is important to the thematic development of Text 3.6.

In stanzas 6 through 8, Sandy relates the story of her mother's "wanting to go to school" and how her mother coped with the disallowance of her education by Sandy's maternal great grandparents. Sandy emphasizes that her mother "really want to … go to school / but her grandparents didn't let her" (ll. 24-26). Sandy quotes her great-grandparents in stanza 6, using forceful language, made stronger by the direct translation from Chinese: "Why? You are a *girl* / Why you like have education? / For what?" In this context, the desire for education was denied because schooling for girls in that social and cultural context was considered to be a waste of time, or useless. Frustrated in her desire to learn, Sandy's mother found other ways—informal ways—to become literate and realize her desire for learning. In stanza 8, Sandy relates how her mother learned to read from the newspaper. Sandy doesn't explain how her mother discovered the meanings of words, but just that she "read and practice" (l. 34). Evidently, Sandy's mother not only learned a functional amount of Chinese in this way, but she also learned Vietnamese. In stanzas 10 and 11, Sandy tells, almost with surprise, how her mother filled out all of the documents for their application to come to the U.S. Stanza 10 emphasizes that Sandy's parents knew no Vietnamese intensifying the "point" of the narrative in stanza 11 that her mother was able to complete a task which required significant linguistic ability. "She did all of them / I don't know how" (ll. 43-44). In other words, Sandy's mother was able to acquire the language that she needed for in her social context without ever going to school.[3] The emphasis is on the pragmatic informal learning of languages. This attitude was reflected by Sandy herself throughout the interview.

By juxtaposing her mother's example of "wanting education" with Sandy's own desire, the reasons for Sandy's wanting or not wanting to "go to a four-year" become clearer. First, functional literacy—"getting the job done"—does not require schooling, as Sandy's mother demonstrated. Second, Sandy, as a girl, doesn't necessarily need as high of an education as a boy might—at least in the eyes of her mother. In essence, Sandy's linking her narrative with her mother's implies that her path parallels her mother's. Sandy's attitudes toward education, then, are shaped by the gendered expectations in the social context as well as by the immediate, pragmatic need of employment to contribute to the family's economic well-being. Informal learning of language is what Sandy feels that she and her family members need in order to survive economically in the U.S.

Discussion

---

[3] It is interesting to note, however, in Text 3.1 Vietnamese was considered by her father to be "useless." Again, in Text 3.5, when referring to family support for literacy, Sandy mentions that if her sister writes letters to her friends in Vietnam, "she might forgot some words / she might ask me or my father to help her" (ll. 44-47). Sandy's mother is not mentioned in other contexts involving language maintenance. The overall context of the interview suggests that her mother's way of learning or her goals might have allowed her to function in basic ways in different contexts but not to attain sufficient proficiency to contribute to language maintenance. However, her orientation toward informal learning is shared in the social context.

A number of important themes are woven throughout Sandy's narratives. Languages have two different kinds of value in Sandy's ecology of language. On the one hand, a core language, which for Sandy is Cantonese, gives one a sense of identity and must be preserved at all costs. When the core language is not supported in the social context, then the family must ensure through whatever means possible that it language is maintained in the family structure. On the other hand, certain languages provide access to social networks, which, in turn, provide access to shared social benefits. These peripheral languages—some more peripheral than others—have values tied to specific social contexts. When one leaves that context, the value of these peripheral languages declines. For Sandy, Vietnamese is a peripheral language whose value is restricted to past social contexts and networks of relationships and therefore need not be mentioned outside of certain restricted contexts.

A second theme which appears in different ways in Sandy's narratives has to do with the learning of *useful* languages. For Sandy, useful languages are best learned and maintained in informal contexts through networks of relationships. In the case of a core language like Cantonese, the family has a historical and current interest in ensuring that family members have oral and literacy skills. In the case of peripheral languages like Vietnamese, peer networks are an appropriate site for learning the necessary language. However, school is rarely seen as a place where useful knowledge or language is imparted to students. Rather, informal contexts and relationships are always superior to formal ones in Sandy's perspective. However, in the case of English, which has significant value in Sandy's social context, Sandy does not have access to informal networks of standard English speakers and so wishes that she had been born in the U.S., even if it meant that she could not speak Cantonese.

Finally, Sandy suggests that her ultimate ability to succeed in school is limited by her lack of access to informal English-medium social networks and lack of English proficiency. More importantly, learning for Sandy is also restricted by her parents' attitudes towards girls' educations. Because of her status as a young, unmarried female living with her parents and under their direction, Sandy has submitted to her mother's strong suggestion that she go to a two-year-college and not a four-year college in order to gain access to jobs in the short-term future. In short, Sandy must overcome the vestiges of her family's anti-female-education history to pursue her own desires for education

Narrative Profile #4: Maggie

Maggie came to the U.S. with her parents in 1991 when she was 15 years old. They joined an older brother living in Fremont, California since he left Vietnam in 1979 by boat and eventually arrived in the U.S. Because it was difficult for her father to find work in Northern California, Maggie and her parents relocated first to El Monte and then to Temple City, both in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles. In El Monte, they lived with Maggie's uncle, who had also left Vietnam by boat in 1982. Maggie attended Arroyo High School, and graduated from there two years after moving to Southern California.

Before coming to the U.S., Maggie and her family had lived in the part of Saigon (Cholon) with the heaviest concentration of Chinese speakers. There they had a small copper wire production business. Unlike many other families in Saigon, Maggie's family were Fukkienese, rather than Cantonese-speaking. However, unlike Binh and Angie, Maggie grew up with strong Chinese and Vietnamese influences. In other words, Maggie belongs to the category of "mixed dominant" speakers. While she attended government schools in Vietnam, and formed friendships mostly with Vietnamese-speaking classmates, she also studied Chinese and English in classes which she attended each afternoon and evening. As a result, she feels that she is able to handle academic work in both Vietnamese and Chinese, in addition to English.

Although Maggie and her family were not refugees, they were shaped by the refugee experience. As noted above, Maggie's oldest brother and her uncle, who left Vietnam by boat in 1979 and 1982, respectively, and both settled in California. Maggie's oldest brother, who lived alone in Northern California, often wrote back to the family, describing the difficulty of living alone in America. Consequently, Maggie's parents allowed their second-oldest son to leave Vietnam by boat as well. However, after he left Vietnam, he "disappeared." Maggie says that the painful memory of her brother's death is only remembered by a painful silence in the family.

Maggie, having lived in both Northern and Southern California, brings contrasting experiences to light in the interview. Unlike the darker tone of Angie, who experienced discrimination and alienation in both Arizona and Los Angeles, Maggie has a more optimistic outlook on the experiences of "segregation" that she experienced after moving to the San Gabriel Valley region.

In Text 4.1, Maggie explores the differences between attending high school in Northern California and Southern California. In particular, she focuses on the role of the much larger Asian population at Arroyo High School in El Monte in the formation of distinct ethnicity/nationality-based social groups. Maggie describes the pressure that she felt both from peers and from family members, her uncle in particular, to conform to particular (segregated) patterns of social relationships.

Text 4.1: ***Pressure to conform***

Stanza 1

1. I didn't plan to come here though
2. I come to San Francisco

Stanza 2

3. and then because it's hard to find a job
4. for my parents
5. when they end up moving

Stanza 3

6. my dad move here first
7. and then my mom move here
8. And that's why I move here with my mom

Stanza 4

9. but I like San Francisco better than here

Stanza 5

10. before we lived in the Redwood City
11. and then I go to the Woodside High School
12. that is a nice school
13. really

Stanza 6

14. but the Asians up there
15. it's very less
16. it's like around the campus it's only a few
17. not even a hundred person

Stanza 7

18. then you know
19. when I go to Arroyo High
20. I just can't believe you know
21. the whole school is like a lot of Asians

Stanza 8

22. one classroom you know
23. the whole school is not even one classroom over there

Stanza 9

24. and so I talked to like the Mexican people
25. and then so I speak use English
26. they also ESL student
27. and I also ESL student
28. and then so

Stanza 11

29. after I come I got influenced by a lots of Asian people
30. like have to separate between the Mexican and Asian
31. like don't get along
32. so then I don't like not talking to them

Stanza 12

33. but then I studied in Woodside High School
34. I used to you know like play with those people
35. and play with all kind of people

Stanza 13

36. maybe it's 'cause you know I just came
37. and I don't know anybody
38. so anybody he talked to me I talked to him

Stanza 14

39. but over here it's like
40. you know there's a group over here
41. and there's a group over

Stanza 15

42. so if you hang with this one
43. like if you hang out with those group
44. it's like kind of this group going to look at you kind of weird you know

Stanza 16

45. so it's then there's more and more pressure

46. for you to hang out with this kind of people too

Stanza 17

47. I talked to both when I come
48. and then they say
49. "they not good" you know?

Stanza 18

50. and then especially my uncle
51. because I live with my uncle
52. he is like "you better you know watch out
53. those friend you hang around with"

Stanza 19

54. and then always said you know
55. like put me away from my friends
56. don't let me to make any friends
57. afraid that

Stanza 20

58. and then also I'm not have my own house
59. so that I live with him
60. I can not bring any friends home
61. or not talking on the phone
62. I don't talk on the phone at home So

Stanza 21

63. it's hard
64. but you know it's okay

Stanza 22

65. when I just come
66. I go to school
67. and then I go back home
68. and then I stay in the room

Stanza 23

69. so my grade is very high good you know
70.   cause got nothing to do so

In Text 4.1, Maggie discusses a number of factors that have constrained her ability to choose the way in which she participates in the social contexts in which she finds herself. The text can be divided into three main sections: (1) Moving from San Francisco (stanzas 1-4); (2) Two high schools, two different experiences (stanzas 5-17); and (3) control at home (stanzas 18-23). In these three sections, Maggie presents two levels of shifting, or change, in terms of social context. On one level, she shifts from her family to her peers at high school to her family again. On another level, Maggie represents differing social contexts geographically, contrasting her experiences in San Francisco/Redwood City/Woodward High School with her experiences in El Monte/Arroyo High School. Each of the social contexts has an associated degree of social control for her. But one of the main themes of this text is that the move from Northern to Southern California brought about a heightened degree of social control both outside of the home as well as within it.

In the first section of Text 4.1, Maggie introduces the move from San Francisco to Los Angeles. The move for Maggie was both unanticipated and undesired. The factors that led to her moving were economic, "because it's hard to find a job / for my parents" (ll. 3-4). The most prominent word in the section is "move," and it occurs four times. In a sense the repetition of the word "move" creates a sort of inescapable current which begins with Maggie's father, increases with her mother, and finally brings Maggie along as well. Maggie mentions elsewhere other factors that influenced her family's moving south. Her uncle was living in El Monte, and Maggie and her family lived with her uncle throughout Maggie's high school years. In addition, the immigrant economy facilitated her parents' finding work. However, Maggie maintains that the move was not necessarily good for her. "But I like San Francisco better than here."

In the second section of the text, stanzas 5 to 17, Maggie proceeds to describe the changes that she experienced in moving from Woodside High School to Arroyo High School. She does this by presenting three main contrasts, which revolve around a single theme: in Woodward High School Maggie was freer to interact with whomever she wanted; in Arroyo High School, she had to conform to her Asian/Vietnamese peer group. The three contrasts that she develops have to do with the relative numbers of Asian students, attitudes toward "Mexican" students, and pressure from Asian peers not to associate with "Mexican" students. Throughout the interview, Maggie emphasized that she likes meeting and spending time with different kinds of people, and the social restriction of the San Gabriel Valley limits her ability to form new relationships. In effect, the second section of Text 4.1 embodies an implied development of Maggie's reasons for preferring San Francisco.

The first of the three contrasts in the second section of Text 4.1 is marked by emphatic language. Remarking on the relatively smaller Asian population at Woodward High School, Maggie notes in stanza 6, "it's *very* less … it's *only* a few … *not even* a hundred." In contrast, the Asian population at Arroyo High School was surprising for her. Describing her reaction in stanza 7, Maggie says, " *I just can't believe*, you know / *the whole school* is like a lot of Asians." Maggie does not use the same concentration of emphatic language elsewhere in the text. In effect, Maggie implies that it was the size of the Asian population at Arroyo that caused her to conform to the social practices of her peers. In Woodward, the population was smaller, and the opportunity to escape social conformism greater.

The second contrast that Maggie raises deals with her ability to interact with Mexican students. The shift to her description of her relationships with Mexican students in Woodward is subtle, but in stanza 8 Maggie states "one classroom, you know / the whole school is not even one classroom over there" (l. 23). In other words, there were more Asian students in one class at Arroyo than in all of Woodward High. She then continues in stanza 9 to refer to the effects of the smaller Asian population on her relationships with Mexican students. "And so I talked to the Mexican people / and then I use English" (ll. 24-25). These were students in her ESL class with whom English was the natural language for communication. Her contact with Mexican students in ESL classes at Woodward was an important step in Maggie's development of English language skills. However, at Arroyo, there is a very clear social stigma attached to interacting with people from other groups. Maggie relates, "after I come [to Arroyo], I got influenced by a lots of Asian people / like have to separate between the Mexican and Asian / like don't get along / so then I don't … talking to them" (ll. 29-32).

In stanzas 11 and 12, Maggie provides an insight into her experience at Woodside as well as her underlying thoughts about voluntary ethnic segregation. She comments, "I used to … play with those people … maybe it's cause…I just came and I don't know anybody…" (ll. 34, 36-37). Reflecting on her experiences at Woodside, Maggie implies that her perspective has shifted and that she no longer "play[s] with all kind of people." Her use of "used to" in line 34 marks a habitual past action which is not continued into the present. In other words, she is more in line with her peers and older family members in her current context.

Maggie's third contrast shifts from an explicit reference to specific groups at specific schools, and suggests that the segregation that she has been describing is more pervasive than merely a few groups at Arroyo High School. It also allows her to transitions from a school-specific context to her experiences at home, which constitute the focus of the third section of Text 4.1.

The focal point of the third contrast is the deictic references found in stanzas 13 through 15. The first such pair denoting contrast are found in like 40 and 41, "a group over here…a group over [there]." Connecting with her reference to "those people," referring to "Mexican" students, in line 34, Maggie suggests that the social divisions are mutual, and that she is constrained to interact with only Asian students by both the

Asian students and the Mexican students. "Here" and "there" suggest not only physical separation of groups, but space also constitutes a metaphor for social segregation, emphasized through the use of "over," which effectively makes the separation complete. There is no sense of overlap between the social groups. Her use of deictic reference continues in stanzas 14 and 15 though Maggie's usage of "this [group]" and "those group" in lines 42, 43, 44, and 46. There is an strong undercurrent of mistrust between Asian American and Mexican American students in this section. "Like if you hang out with those group / it's like this group going to look at you weird, you know." Confronted with "more and more pressure," Maggie allows herself to be conformed to the Asian in-group social norms of non-contact with Mexican-American students, rather than face the perils of social isolation. "I talked with both when I come / and then they say- / they like- they not good." While Maggie initially depersonalizes the tension inherent in this third contrast through her usage of the informal generic "you," she effectively identifies it as her own in stanza 16.

The social control that Maggie describes in the second section of Text 4.1 becomes more intense and dominating, as Maggie describes in the third and final section of the text, in stanzas 18 to 23. Here, Maggie describes the role that her uncle played in shaping her social experiences while she was in high school.

In stanza 20, Maggie comments on her uncle's ability to restrict her social interaction. "I'm not have my own house / so that I live with him." Here Maggie connects the issue of social control with the theme of her opening section. She moved to El Monte, not by her free choice, but because of her parents' inability to find jobs. The economic limitations faced by her immediate family not only resulted in her inability to stay where she preferred but also forced her into a context in which her ability to develop social relationships outside of the extended family were controlled by the dominant older male family member, her uncle. In stanzas 18 through 20, Maggie points to three main effects of her uncle's control: (1) to create fear or caution through warnings about the potential dangers associated with contacting "friends" outside of the home (ll. 52-53)—or attempting to control Maggie's behavior *outside* the home, (2) social isolation outside the home (ll. 55-56), and (3) control of Maggie's social world *in* the home environment by not allowing Maggie to have visitors or receive any phone calls (ll. 60-62).

Although Maggie experienced a heightened degree of social control both through peers at school and older family members at home, Maggie does not contest the control but rather accepts it as natural and unavoidable. As noted above, Maggie shifted towards that of her peers in stanzas 11 and 12. Similarly, Maggie adapts to the control of her uncle because of her family's dependence on her uncle for support. Seeking to frame the control in a positive light, Maggie notes, "And then I go back home / and then I say in the room / so my grade is very high / … / cause got nothing to do…" (ll. 65-68). Grades are a compensating factor for Maggie, as she suggests with an effect clause. However, she brings the importance of grades into question, noting that she was restricted in all types of activities.

The issue of social control by an older male family member reemerges in Text 4.2 as a factor shaping Maggie's educational and social experiences. In Vietnam, Maggie's grandfather, strictly prohibited the use of Vietnamese in the family. In Text 4.2, Maggie also discusses school as a regulatory factor in her life, but differently than she describes her life in Los Angeles.

Text 4.2: *Language learning in Vietnam*

Stanza 1

1. Oh my god
2. talk about Vietnam school

Stanza 2

3. I go three schools
4. one is my regular school Vietnamese
5. and then second is Chinese
6. and then third is English

Stanza 3

7. three school
8. and then every day you see I'm busy
9. driving my bike to school

Stanza 4

10. like morning right?
11. morning I go regular school to close up

Stanza 5

12. and then I have to go to afternoon school to study
13. tutor math
14. and language Vietnamese language

Stanza 6

15. and then later on I have
16. night evening I go to school to learn to
17. English and Chinese

Stanza 7

18. but when I was young
19. my mom teach me

Stanza 8

20. but then I was like
21. about 13 years old I go to school

Stanza 9

22. I like to learn languages

Stanza 10

23. but you know I don't know
24. we cannot speak Vietnamese at home

Stanza 11

25. before
26. it's like when we young
27. then my grandpa [alive?]
28. and so we all speak Chinese

Stanza 12

29. well he kind of funny though

30. like if anybody speak Vietnamese
31. then he hitted their face <laugh>

Stanza 13

32. and so my brother and I
33. whenever we heard each other speak Vietnamese
34. then slap on the face

Stanza 14

35. but you know most of my friends
36. I speak Vietnamese in school

Stanza 15

37. and my family
38. I take them home
39. and then always say like bird <laughs>

Stanza 16

40. I'm like wait don't say like that

Stanza 17

41. most friends are just Vietnamese and then Chinese

Stanza 18

42. I have friends whose parents Chinese
43. but they speak Chinese
44. they all speak Vietnamese

Stanza 19

45.   but my family is like speak Chinese

Text 4.2 is divided into three main sections: (1) a section in reverse chronological order that provides a background to Maggie's language learning history (stanzas 1-6), (2) a brief transitional section which contrastively connects the school environment and the home environment (stanzas 7-10), and (3) a section which focuses on the regulatory function of the family with regards to language shift and language maintenance (stanzas 11-19). Although Maggie introduces several individuals and groups in this text, her grandfather is clearly the central figure, at least he was while he was living. Similar to her uncle in Los Angeles, who, as the eldest male in the family, regulated family activities, her grandfather had exercised control over the family when he was living. In the area of language behavior, Maggie's grandfather punished family members who introduced Vietnamese into the family. Moreover, Maggie notes that both she and her brother mimicked his regulartory role. The effect was that Maggie's family was able to maintain a much stronger Chinese identity than were the families of her friends.

In terms of language, one of the most notable features of Text 4.2 is the lack of marked verb tenses. Maggie relies heavily on unmarked verbs—verbs without explicit tense markers—and on contextual clues of time reference. Only four verbs are marked—two each in the second and third sections. Although most of the interview followed this pattern, he possible significance of these markers is discussed below. Maggie marks time frame with a combination of contextual cues, such as "Talk about Vietnam school" in line 2, and adverbial clauses and phrases, as in line 18, "when I was young…" and line 25 "before…." The usage of the relatively unmarked tenses and contextual cues of time frames has two effects, it follows patterns of Chinese language time expression of time frame, but highlighting key times and events through the use of marked past tense verbs, and it brings events from Vietnam more vividly into the context of the interview.

Maggie begins the first section of Text 4.2 by outlining her language learning background in her teens in Vietnam. Maggie uses a three part parallel to highlight the busyness of her life in Vietnam. Morning school was "regular" Vietnamese school, afternoon classes involved tutoring in Vietnamese language and math, two subjects that were related to her regular school. And evening classes were devoted to learning English and Chinese. Maggie does not provide descriptive detail regarding her school experiences. Instead, her full school schedule is linked in the text to strictly enforced language policies in the home setting. Language learning at school represents a substantial investment on the part of Maggie's family. It is clear in the text that learning Vietnamese is to be an activity for school only, much like math, not a vital language to be incorporated into the school. Maggie brings this point home in the third section of Text 4.2.

In the second section of Text 4.2, Maggie explicitly connects her school language learning with the context of her family. She does this through three instances of contrasts marked with the conjunction "but" (ll. 18,20, 23). The transition is rough, but it effectively leads to the sense of control with regards to language. In particular, lines 22 through 24 mark an important contrast in Maggie's attitudes toward language: "I like to learn languages / but … we cannot speak Vietnamese at home." In this context, Maggie notes that she must place her own interests and desires in subjection to the language regime of her family.

In the third section of Text 4.2, Maggie points to three ways in which her family members sanctioned the use of Vietnamese in the home setting. As noted earlier, Maggie's grandfather, the dominant male figure in this dialogue, disciplined young family members for speaking Vietnamese. Mandy jokingly notes "he hitted their face" (l. 31). This informal discipline was mimicked by Maggie and her brother. "Whenever we heard each other speak Vietnamese / then slap on the face" (ll. 32-34). Maggie notes that the negative attitudes toward Vietnamese language were incongruent with the school environment that Maggie experienced. "…most of my friends / I speak Vietnamese in school" (ll. 35-36). Apparently after the death of Maggie's grandfather, the family continued to restrict the use of Vietnamese in the home, but in a less strict manner. Maggie notes that when she would bring her friends—who were almost all Vietnamese-dominant Chinese-Vietnamese (see ll. 42-44)—home from school, her family members would joke about the sound of Vietnamese, saying it sounded "like bird" (l. 39). Clearly, the connotation of the comments was critical, given Maggie's response: "I'm like wait- don't say like that" (l.40). In other words, with the absence of an older male family member to punish or restrict the use of Vietnamese, Maggie is less willing to comply with the family language regime, and therefore contests the informal family sanctions against the use of Vietnamese.

The role of an older family member, particularly a male family member, is critical in shaping Maggie's language experiences. In Text 4.1, that older family member was her uncle in Los Angeles. He viewed his role to maintain family identity and promote the perceived social welfare of the family by restricting Maggie's movement and contact with peers. In Text 4.2, her grandfather also restricted Maggie's ability to conform to the language and social patterns of her peers in school. While other family members, such as Maggie's mother (see ll. 19, 37), played a role in shaping family identity through language, the lack of elaboration in the narrative suggests that their role was less important in shaping Maggie's experiences and beliefs. In other words, only strong sanctions were enough to keep Maggie from becoming like her friends—ethnically Chinese but linguistically and culturally increasingly conformed to the environing society.

Maggie further develops her positive view of languages in Text 4.3. While she identifies numerous benefits of her knowledge of Vietnamese, Chinese, and English, she focuses primarily on one—the ability to engage in supportive relationships. In this respect, Vietnamese has proven itself much more useful in Maggie's experience than has Chinese. The theme of the *helpfulness of shared language* is central to the development of Text 4.3.

Text 4.3: *Benefits of knowing languages*

Stanza 1

1. It's just
2. look at me!
3. I know a lot of languages

Stanza 2

4. and then you know?
5. people can say
6. at least you know what people talking about you!
7. and also you know it gives you opportunity to apply jobs

Stanza 3

8. you know you know a lot of languages
9. and then you communicate with people
10. for only for your own benefit

Stanza 4

11. it's nice you know
12. it's like proud of yourself to speak a lot of language
13. like not only one language only
14. so I don't know
15. I'm always proud of myself

Stanza 5

16. like in high school
17. I used to work at the learning center
18. and then helping those new people come to America
19. people just come

Stanza 6

20. so I'm helping all kinds people
21. except Spanish
22. I don't know Spanish
23. that's the only language I don't know

Stanza 7

24. in Arroyo there's only those language
25. and then the learning center
26. they also have those Mexican people

Stanza 8

27. but then when you speak with them
28. then they kind of seem very friendly
29. because you speak their language
30. they don't feel alone
31. really

Stanza 9

32. because I have my experience
33. that you know I come
34. and then nobody speak your language

35. and then you feel like very lonely
36. scary too

Stanza 10

37. yeah especially when you go into a class

Stanza 11

38. and then I remember
39. I go to a geometry class

Stanza 12

40. and then there's nobody sitting there beside me
41. and then as soon as I listen to her
42. I don't understand
43. what she's saying
44. you know

Stanza 13

45. Geometry is my favorite subject
46. I don't know anything she said
47. so I felt afraid

Stanza 14

48. at then because there's a girl
49. she's Vietnamese
50. and she speak Vietnamese with me

Stanza 15

51. so she take me to the class
52. and show me around

Stanza 16

53. most Vietnamese people all do that
54. that's very nice
55. very nice

Stanza 17

56. I miss them very much

Stanza 18

57. they come here
58. like long time ago when like 5 yrs 10 yrs ago

Stanza 19

59. and so I get along with them

Stanza 20

60. a group of Vietnamese and a group of Chinese
61. I went there
62. and I don't know the separation between the two groups
63. they hate each other

Stanza 21

64. and then I play with both groups

Text 4.3 was elicited in response to a question about whether or not Maggie felt it would be important for her future children to learn Chinese or Vietnamese.

Rather than answering the hypothetical question directly, Maggie looks to her own experiences of multilingualism as a guide to her answer. The text naturally divides into four main sections: (1) personal benefits of multilingualism (stanzas 1-3), (2) pride through using language to help (stanzas 4-8), (3) receiving help from a Vietnamese girl (stanzas 6-15), and (4) unknown separations (stanzas 16-21).While Maggie displays her awareness of the potential personal benefits of multilingualism in the first section, she uses two personal examples to highlight the importance of language for building supportive relationships, particularly in the transitional period of a new immigrant's arrival in the U.S. However, she closes the text with an uneasy sense of separation and hatred between two groups with whom she developed supportive relationships.

In the first section of Text 4.3, Maggie points to herself as an example of a multilingual person, and she outlines experiences that she previously developed in other parts of the interview in which her knowledge of Vietnamese and several Chinese languages had helped her. The first benefit mentioned by Maggie was knowing "what other people talking about you" (l. 6). This is a non-trivial benefit in Maggie's social context, and it is discussed further in Texts 4.4a and 4.4b. Knowing what other people are saying, often without their awareness, allows Maggie to maintain some control over her peer social networks. The second benefit that Maggie mentions in the first section is that knowing multiple languages "gives you the opportunity to apply jobs" (l. 7). Elsewhere in the interview Maggie noted that she has had two jobs, one working for a Taiwanese computer business, where she could speak Mandarin, *Fukkienese*, Vietnamese and English. After that she got a job working for a computer store in Alhambra, where she speaks Cantonese with her employer and mostly English with customers. Maggie notes that knowing multiple languages allows a person to "communicate with people / …only for your benefit" (ll. 9-10). In other words, understanding when the two main benefits outlined by Maggie in the first section were more personal.

More important to Maggie than the personal benefits realized through multilingualism, however, is the ability to develop supportive relationships through language. In the second section of Text 4.3, Maggie relates two experiences that she has had one each on both the giving and the receiving end of support in a language other than English. In particular, being able to help someone in another language has made Maggie "proud" of knowing several languages. Maggie gives the example of her own work in high school at the learning center at Arroyo High School, where she used to help newly-arrived students with the questions that they would ask in a Chinese language or in Vietnamese. Maggie recalls, "So I'm helping all kinds people / except Spanish / … / that's the only language that I don't know (ll. 20-23). Maggie's ability to help "those Mexican people" also helped break down the social barriers described in Text 4.1, so Maggie concludes, "…when you speak with them / then they kind of seem friendly. / because you speak their language / they don't feel alone" (ll. 27-30). The issue of loneliness and isolation is an important one for Maggie. Consequently, as Maggie's social context was being controlled at home by her uncle, her ability to provide support and develop relationships with non-Chinese peers at school was being enhanced.

In stanzas 8 and 9, Maggie shifts from the personal "I" to a more generic "you" to highlight the fact that loneliness is a common experience shared by many newcomers. Moreover, this usage also allows Maggie to transition from her brief story of being a support provider to a more well-developed narrative about being the recipient of assistance in Vietnamese. The second narrative comprises stanzas 9 through15. In this narrative, Maggie describes sitting by in a geometry, not understanding the teacher, even though geometry was her favorite subject. The experience produced fear in her. However, she was helped by a Vietnamese girl, who "take [her] to the class and show [her] around" (ll 52-53).

In stanzas 15 and 16, Maggie is very careful to emphasize that the girl who helped her was "Vietnamese" and "she spoke Vietnamese" with Maggie. Furthermore, Maggie goes on to relate her belief that "most Vietnamese people all do that / that's very nice" (ll. 54-55). Elsewhere in the interview, Maggie stated that "There's a lot of Vietnamese / when you hang around with them / they're very nice / nicer than those that are Chinese people." In Text 4.3, Maggie points to Vietnamese as an important language for giving and receiving social support in needed ways. In contrast, her knowledge of Chinese allowed Maggie to get jobs and to interact with other ethnic Chinese individuals, even when she does not like them, as can be seen in Texts 4.4b and 4.5. Yet, for Maggie, her knowledge of both Chinese and Vietnamese has, in some measure, allowed her to escape from the economic and social confinement that she would otherwise experience more acutely in her life in Los Angeles.

Maggie closes Text 4.3, by mentioning both the gratitude that she felt for the support that she had received from the Vietnamese group as well as her growing awareness of the animosity that existed between the Vietnamese and the Chinese groups in Woodland High School. "And I don't know the separation between the two groups / they hate each other" (ll. 63-64). However, both Maggie's language proficiency in Chinese and Vietnamese as well as her naï veté with regards to the separation between the two groups allowed her to continue to interact with members of both groups during her time in Redwood City. Perhaps as she did with her language abilities in other social contexts, Maggie masked her growing awareness of the conflict between the Vietnamese and the Chinese groups in order to continue participating in both.

While Maggie is optimistic about the influence of knowing Vietnamese and Chinese, the attitudes of Maggie's family toward the use of Vietnamese, discussed in Text 4.2, influenced her performance in the language as much as did the supportive relationships described in Text 4.3. Although Maggie studied in "Vietnam school," and had friends who were Vietnamese dominant, she goes on to describe her non-fluent language abilities in Text 4.4a. As a result, Maggie's relationship to Vietnamese-based social contexts is ambivalent, at least in the context of Southern California. However, Maggie's relationship to Cantonese-based relationships is also ambivalent, as is seen in Text 4.4b. In both halves of the text, Maggie suggests that she only reveals her linguistic abilities in both Vietnamese and Cantonese in critical contexts, especially those afforded in the classroom, where the social context creates multilingual opportunities that might not occur elsewhere.

Text 4.4a: *Knowing Vietnamese*

Stanza 1

1. They always say
2. I'm not that good in Vietnamese
3. they always make fun of me actually
4. because my accent is not right

Stanza 2

5. and then sometime I use the wrong word
6. like you're not supposed to use in Vietnamese
7. I use it
8. and then they laugh at me

Stanza 3

9. but then they teach me to say a proper word

Stanza 4

10. I don't like to speak like Vietnamese
11. because they look alone
12. I want to speak English

Stanza 5

13. I'm not good in English
14. but you know they not good either
15. so they cannot complain about me

Stanza 6

16. but Vietnamese is very poor
17. and so you know they always make joke on me

Stanza 7

18. oh do you remember that Trinh and Huong?
19. they speak Vietnamese

Stanza 8

20. and then they sit next to me
21. and they said something like chitchat about me

Stanza 9

22. and later on you know if I understand
23. and then they kind of embarrassing you know?

Stanza 10

24. see that's how I knew

Stanza 11

25. pretty good
26. so funny

Stanza 12

27. then later on they ask my friend
28. they ask do I know how to speak?

Stanza 13

29. then my friend said yeah
30. and so she's kind of embarrassing

Text 4.4 focuses on the interplay of the themes of language abilities, teasing or joking, and (loss of) face in a Vietnamese context. Maggie's demonstration of her (lack of) proficiency results in a kind of joke or game, which, in turn, causes a loss of face for one of the participants in the social context. The text divides into two main parts: (1) Maggie's lack of proficiency in Vietnamese causes a loss of face for her (stanzas 1-6), and (2) Maggie's hidden proficiency in Vietnamese results in a loss of face for her

Vietnamese classmates (stanzas 7-12). In addition, embedded in the first section of the narrative, stanzas 4 and 5 provide parenthetical information dealing with Maggie's use of multiple languages to negotiate face/power in Vietnamese peer relationships.

In the first section, the key phrases "make fun of," "laugh at," and "make joke on" (ll. 3, 8, 17) bring into relief the context of social interaction between Maggie and her Vietnamese peers. The use of laughter or joking here functions to allow for a negotiation of linguistic authority in such a way that participants are able to maintain *face* in direct interactions. Maggie uses the first two instances of "making fun" or "laughing" to point to salient inappropriate features of Maggie's use of Vietnamese: her pronunciation and her choice (or production) of certain inappropriate lexical items.

Because of her relative social disadvantage in Vietnamese, Maggie states that "I don't like to speak like Vietnamese /… / I want to speak English" (ll. 10,12). The ability to speak Vietnamese is important for Maggie, as she points out in the second section of Text 4.4a. However, her ability to shift languages, not to be bound by social norms requiring that she interact with Vietnamese-dominant people in Vietnamese, allows her to negotiate power and authority in multilingual contexts. Maggie notes, "I'm not good in English / but…they not good either / so they cannot complain about me" (ll. 13-15). Here Maggie shifts away from the "joking" theme to the underlying issue. Her peers "complaints about" Maggie's language abilities result from their relative authority—stemming from their fluency—in the language. English allows Maggie to have equal footing with her Vietnamese peers. So, Maggie plays one language against another to gain relative advantage, or at least parity, in the social contexts in which she has to interact with Vietnamese-dominant peers. She demonstrates this interplay through an example in the second half of Text 4.4a.

After pointing to her preference for English and summarizing her poor Vietnamese skills, Maggie demonstrates how her multilingual abilities play out in the classroom. In a sense, she engages in "guerrilla language practices" to surprise Vietnamese peers and to gain advantage in the classroom. In stanzas 7 through 12, Maggie tells a story that occurred in a classroom in which both Maggie and the interviewer were participants. Two of her Vietnamese classmates, Trinh and Huong, were talking about Maggie in Vietnamese, assuming that she did not understand them. Not disclosing how she demonstrated her understanding to her classmates, Maggie focuses on the results of the situation in stanzas 9, 11 and 12—her classmates found out through a mutual friend that Maggie could understand Vietnamese. The result was that her classmates were embarrassed, providing Maggie with a an advantage in the social context because her classmates were, in a sense, indebted to her because of the loss of face. For Maggie, the surprise revelation of her language abilities was "pretty good / so funny" (ll. 26-27). Maggie is able to reverse the "joke" of which she has often born the brunt. In effect, Maggie is able to play her English and Chinese identities off her Vietnamese identity to gain standing in the social context.

In Text 4.4b, Maggie uses a parallel example of her unsuspected knowledge of language, again in a classroom context in which both she and the interviewer were present. In this case, the language was Cantonese rather than Vietnamese. All of the participants in the story, except Maggie, context were from Hong Kong. And the results of the surprise "revelation" of Maggie's language abilities did not have the same effect as it had in a Vietnamese context.

Text 4.4b: *Knowing Cantonese*

Stanza 13

1. In some ways it's just like last semester 33A?
2. like we get into groups
3. discuss things

Stanza 14

4. and then those Hongkongese people
5. they speak Cantonese
6. and then so because the whole group is all speak Cantonese
7. and then only me

Stanza 15

8. so later on I gave my discussion
9. I spoke Cantonese

Stanza 16

10. they were so surprised
11. they were like I'm pretty [hard] you know

Stanza 17

12. and then until the end of the semester
13. they said they find out
14. that I know how to speak Cantonese

Stanza 18

15. So it's kind of fun!

In stanza 13 Maggie frames the context of her example, the common classroom activity of "small group discussion." She was placed in a group setting with "those Hongkongese people" who "speak Cantonese" (ll. 36-37). Showing her isolation within the group, Maggie notes emphatically, "the whole group is all speak Cantonese / and then only me" (ll. 38-39). This context is somewhat more formal than Maggie's previous example of "chitchatting". In Text 4.4b, the other participants in Maggie's group chose to function according to the social norms that emphasized group solidarity—and exclusiveness—through the use of Cantonese. They were unaware that Maggie was able to understand the discussion, and, therefore, their language choice was a deliberate act of exclusion on their part. In this context, rather than using an

English identity to gain social parity, Maggie demonstrates her ability to participate fully through her use of Cantonese. However, in contrast to the effect of the surprise revelation on her Vietnamese classmates, Maggie's demonstration of her knowledge of Cantonese does not result in a loss of face among her classmates or social advantage for Maggie. For Maggie, however, her "guerrilla language use" is still "kind of fun" (l. 47).

For Maggie, the difference between the contexts of knowing Vietnamese and knowing Cantonese have to do with differences in the two groups. In particular, Maggie feels a lack of acceptance not related to language when in social contexts where she has to interact with peers from Hong Kong. Maggie focuses on the economic differences between herself and the relatively wealthier foreign students from Hong Kong. These differences are developed more fully in Text 4.5.

Text 4.5: *Not a part of their group*

Stanza 1

1. It's because yourself
2. like you separate yourself from the group
3. actually you don't feel comfortable with the other group

Stanza 2

4. for me
5. when I hang around with the Hongkongese people
6. it's kind of like not a part of their group

Stanza 3

7. their group is like
8. they come here with the big support of their family
9. and so they doesn't have to go to work

Stanza 4

10. and then they rich
11. and so the way they spend money
12. is different from the way I spend it

Stanza 5

13. and so the way they talking
14. like everything mean like

15. they talk
16. their subject is different than my subject

Stanza 6

17. can see that
18. you know when they talking
19. they talking about going to the mall
20. like you know going out and things like that

Stanza 7

21. and for me it's like
22. I hate those things [laughs]

Stanza 8

23. it's not like hate
24. but usually some people want to go to mall spend money

Stanza 9

25. very very conceited
26. I don't know

Stanza 10

27. maybe they you know in PCC
28. you can see that better

Stanza 11

29. especially those people who come here
30. who just come here to study
31. some foreign students

Stanza 12

32. for those who immigrate here it's better

Stanza 13

33. before I do hang around with them
34. cause I have class with them
35. so I hang out with them

Stanza 14

36. kind of nice
37. not everybody
38. a few people

In Text 4.5, Maggie returns to the theme of separate groups, which was one of the main themes in Text 4.1. In Text 4.5, Maggie discusses the separation that she feels with one particular group, Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong. The text is divided into three main sections: (1) an introduction (stanzas 1-2), (2) differences with the Hongkongese (stanzas 3-9), and (3) "foreign students are the worst" (stanzas 10-14). Throughout the text, Maggie attempts to explain the sense of antipathy that she feels toward Hong Kong-born Cantonese speakers as a group, and she focuses on attitudes toward money as the major issue.

In the first two stanzas, Maggie discusses the general sense of disconnection that she feels with Hongkongese people. She begins with a generic statement about the reasons a person "separates" themselves from the group. She uses the informal generic pronoun "you" to indicate that she is attempting to refer to the general experiences that people have of separating themselves and feeling uncomfortable as a member of a Chinese out-group. In stanza 2, she applies the ideas of separation and discomfort to herself with reference to "Hongkongese people." Maggie notes, "it kind of like not part of their group" (l. 7). Because she does not "feel comfortable" or "feel…not a part of their group," Maggie does not usually choose to "hang out" with people from Hong Kong—she separates herself from them—unless the social context requires it, as was the case in Text 4.4b (see also 4.5:34-36).

Throughout the interview, Maggie is characteristically conciliatory to members of groups who are different than hers—she considers herself a "friendly" person. Consequently, her disconnection with co-ethnics from Hong Kong stands out as an anomaly. Maggie senses this also and so develops a rationale for this distinction in the second section of Text 4.5. The key theme around which she develops her thoughts in the second section of the text has to do with attitudes toward money. In stanza 3, Maggie points to the biggest difference that she feels, the source of their money. She states, "they come here with the big support of their family / and so they doesn't have to go to work" (ll. 9-10). Maggie's emphasis on "big support" and not having to work emphasizes not only differences in the relative amount of money available but also the class-based beliefs and activities that come with greater access to capital as well as the relative freedom from the limiting factor of work.

Maggie goes on to point to the different orientation of the "rich" Hongkongese with herself. In stanza 4 Maggie states generally that they spend money differently than she does. In stanzas 5 through 8, they also talk about different topics than she does, and the most common topic of conversation is going to the mall to spend money. Maggie's reaction to the Hongkongese orientation to money is very strong, "They talking about going to the mall / …going out and things like that. /… / I hate those things" (ll. 20-21, 23). Her reaction toward Hongkongese people as a group is equally strong: "very very conceited" (l. 26). In essence, Maggie is explaining her discomfort and separation from Hongkongese people as the result of attitudes toward and practices involving money.

However, in the third section of Text 4.5, Maggie qualifies her position regarding Hongkongese people. She draws a contrast between "some foreign students" in stanza 11 and "those who immigrate here" in stanza 12, noting that for the latter "it's better" (l. 33). That is, Maggie implies that immigrants do not necessarily have the "big support of their family" and that many of them have to work, as does Maggie. In stanza 13, Maggie notes that she "used to hang around with them / cause I have class with them" (ll. 34-35). In this context she does not clarify who "they" are, but the context suggests that she has spent more time with "those who immigrate." In either case, stanzas 13 and 14 Maggie attempts to reinforce her observations about people from Hong Kong. In addition, Maggie seeks to mollify her harsher comments towards co-ethnics from Hong Kong and reassert her more conciliatory demeanor.

Discussion

Two related but contrastive themes that emerge from Maggie's narratives have to do with language and social regimes in the family and among peers, and multilingualism as a source of mutual support. In terms of linguistic and social control, one of the striking aspects of Maggie's move from Northern to Southern California had to do with her coming under increasing control by her uncle and by her peers. Maggie did not contest her uncle's control because of her dependence on him for housing. Among her peers, Maggie suggests that it is the size of the Asian population in her school—which reflected the southern San Gabriel Valley. However, in the case of Maggie's relationships with her peers, the theme of control is one with which she plays. When her peers talk about her behind her back, Maggie is able to use her hidden language abilities to negotiate power and authority in some multilingual contexts. When there is more openness in communication, Maggie notes that multiple languages are extremely useful in building mutually supportive relationships.

Another important effect of the social control that Maggie experienced has to do with the experience of isolation. During Maggie's high school years, the control that he uncle exercised over her, both physically and socially, extended beyond the home environment and shaped her relationships with her peers. This theme was echoed among a number of interview participants, especially single female participants. In one of the interviews, Thuy, who lived with her elderly mother and a brother in the eldest brother's home, broke into tears because her brother refused to let her speak on the phone and questioned her closely on all of her movements. The issue of social control is an important one, discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

Perhaps the most forceful theme that emerges from several of Maggie's narratives deals with the segregated nature of schools in the San Gabriel Valley. While segregation was an issue raised very pointedly and personally by Binh, all seven interviewees had some experience of the segregation. Far from being places of understanding new perspectives, schools reinforce the disconnectedness of the social context in which many Chinese-Vietnamese youth grow up.

UMUC Institute for Research & Assessment in Higher Education
RETURN TO ODELL HOME
RETURN TO IRAHE HOME | CONTACT IRAHE
Search Request Info. Home

Diverse Students Program

The Diverse Students Program began in 1991 with its primary focus on the circumstances of minority adult students, specifically on the barriers they face in achieving access to and success in higher education. The program has now completed its second phase. The purposes of phase two research were to

- Develop a more effective way than had been previously available for measuring the risk and promise for adult students in college studies and to relate patterns of risk to appropriate intervention studies;
- Evaluate a set of nonclassroom interventions intended to enhance diverse students' entry into and success rates in college; and
- Search for patterns of classroom practice that may point to ways of improving student success rates via improved classroom practice.

Participating Institutions

- **Broward Community College (BCC), Florida**
- **Bunker Hill Community College (BHCC), Massachusetts**
- **Charles County Community College (CCCC), Maryland**
- **Empire State College (ESC), New York**
- **Florida Atlantic University (FAU), Florida**
- **Palm Beach Community College (PBCC), Florida**
- **Prince George's Community College (PGCC), Maryland**
- **University of Maryland University College (UMUC),**

These objectives led the participating institutions to identify five separate research projects. One of the projects addressed the risk and promise of diverse students; the other four evaluated the effectiveness of different types of intervention. All of the research projects employed a modular questionnaire that built on the findings of phase one to probe specific correlates of academic risk or success.

Research Project 1

Access and Success for African American Males in the South Florida Collaborating Institutions

Under the aegis of FAU, the intervention projects in Florida occurred at two community colleges. BCC evaluated a new program of collaboration with a Fort Lauderdale community that is heavily African American. The program was created to increase the enrollment of African American men at BCC and to enhance their success rates after enrollment. PBCC was implementing an intervention plan focused on increasing the number of African American males who stay in college. In an advisory role, BHCC offered to share its painfully gained expertise in recruiting and retaining African American males.

Research Project 2

Evaluating the Reengineering of Student Services at UMUC

A major intervention to be evaluated by Project 2 was UMUC's reengineering of its student services. A fundamental redesign and restructuring of the services, underway for almost two years, was put in place in February 1996. A baseline study of students' satisfaction with services (focusing on three groups of students: those who enroll at regional centers, those who take classes primarily at the College Park location, and those who participate in distance learning only) was conducted before the reengineering.

This topic presented itself as a target of opportunity. Reengineering in higher education (not solely at UMUC) is often undertaken primarily for the institution's benefit, as a means of bringing escalating costs under control. Dramatic changes in the nature, scope, and delivery of services to students are almost certain to have an effect on retention ("student success" as viewed from the institution's perspective). What is not known, and what this project was to investigate, was whether there are differential effects on diverse students. In addition, the study sought to compare the cost-effectiveness of the services before and after reengineering, to evaluate the effects of the change on student and staff satisfaction, and to investigate correlates between the change and other success measures such as persistence.

Research Project 3

Comparative Study of Community College Interventions for Success

In a time of fiscal constraint, colleges need to know which interventions work (there is much anecdotal but little actual knowledge in this area) and which are worth continued funding. This project was carried out by PGCC and CCCC. PGCC began by evaluating its ALANA [African, Latin, Asian, and Native American] students program (peer and staff mentoring and support) and its tutoring centers. An immediate object of evaluation at CCCC was a course (Success Skills 100) designed to prepare nursing curriculum candidates for a qualifying examination.

On the basis of Project 3 findings and additional data from institutional records, PGCC developed an R-Cubed Academy for two of its ten highest risk groups of entering students. At a time when only 48% of all entering students continued after the first semester, 84% of the R-Cubed Academy students were still enrolled after two semesters. For information on this program, write to the Chief Academic Officer, Prince George's County Community College.

Research Project 4

A Study of Risk and Promise for Diverse Students

This study, led by UMUC, investigated the contributions of 10 or more factors to the levels of risk and promise among adult students in higher education. It sought to define patterns of risk and promise, especially among adult learners, in more useful ways than those currently existing in designing interventions to enhance student success rates. (In light of phase one research, "risk" and "promise" are here viewed not as characteristic of individual students, but as a product of the interplay among the domains of the individual, the college, and the noncollege environment.) This study initially used the phase two questionnaire to study correlations among various factors as well as success measures found in institutional records. Factor analysis was expected to yield 10 or fewer variables showing statistically significant differences among correlations with success measures and also showing the largest effect sizes among those differences. Subsets of variables have been identified to provide (a) the highest aggregate correlation with high risk and high promise and (b) the most practical implications for later testing of interventions to enhance students' success rates. See the *Risk and Promise Profile© Manual.* See also the *Risk and Promise Profile©: A Validation Study.*

Research Project 5

Deep Processing to Develop Thinking Skills

This study investigated correlations among teaching practices, students' perceptions of learning outcomes, and selected variables used in the Risk and Promise study to determine how selected teaching patterns correlate with (a) different learning outcomes and (b) students' success rates in college. The teaching practices to be investigated were designed to enhance depth of intellectual processing. UMUC identified faculty members interested in participating in this research project. The project provided technical assistance, questionnaires, data entry and analysis, and reports of results.

RETURN TO ODELL HOME
RETURN TO IRAHE HOME

© 1996-2001 University of Maryland University College
3501 University Blvd. East
Adelphi, Maryland 20783 USA

Send feedback on this site to webmaster@www.umuc.edu

Narrative Profile #5: Hanh

Like Sandy, Angie, and Maggie, Hanh was born and raised in Cholon, an area with a historically dense Chinese population next to Saigon, Vietnam. She came to the U.S. in 1996 when she was 18 years old with her parents and younger brother. Her older sister was not allowed to come with them to the U.S. because of her age, so they sent her to Australia to live with her aunt and family. During the first six months after arrival in the U.S., Hanh lived with another aunt in Rosemead, while her parents and younger brother lived in Santa Ana. Later, they moved into their own house in Rosemead, where Hanh was living at the time of the interview.

Although Hanh's parents had sent her to an after-school Chinese program, and sought to regulate the amount of Vietnamese used in the home, as had Maggie's family, Hanh developed the strongest Vietnamese identity of all of the interviewees. As a result, Hanh fits within the general group of the Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speakers outlined in Chapter 5. As with many other participants, Hanh's language attitudes and ethnic identity were shaped at an early age by a transformative individual. In Hanh's case, her Chinese teacher, who taught her from age 4 through 6, and perhaps longer, influenced Hanh to attend Vietnamese school and to view Vietnam, not China, as her land of first allegiance. As she describes in Text 5.4, Hanh's teacher actively sought out any older family member who opposed her attending government schools, and persuaded that family member that Hanh needed to be in school. As a result of her teacher's influence, Hanh developed a highly patriotic attitude toward Vietnam, and was very resistant towards immigrating to the U.S. However, her parents felt that Hanh and her younger bother would have a better life outside of Vietnam—a perspective of which Hanh was highly skeptical—and so they brought Hanh and her brother to the U.S. and sent Hanh's older sister to Australia.

In Text 5.1, Hanh outlines the facts of her arrival in the U.S. However, the main thrust of the text is to contrast two aunts with whom she was invited to stay after arrival in the U.S. with respect to the degree to which they had adapted to the U.S. Underlying the contrast is Hanh's own preference and longing for the more comfortable and traditional way of life in Vietnam, and her rejection of a more highly acculturated identity in the U.S.

Text 5.1: *Two aunts, two ways of adapting*

Stanza 1

1. For my first year
2. I lived with my aunt
3. like half years

Stanza 2

4. because my family my parents with my brother
5. then lived in Santa Ana

Stanza 3

6. and I lived with my aunt
7. for a half year

Stanza 4

8. I just remember that my life
9. my life when I lived in my aunt's
10. was comfortable
11. that it looks like when I stayed
12. it looked like Vietnam

Stanza 5

13. so my aunt

Stanza 6

14. actually she came here for nine years
15. but they still have the traditional life
16. like Vietnam

Stanza 7

17. but my other auntie
18. I went to her house
19. and I just stayed one day
20. and then say goodbye

Stanza 8

21. even if they close to me
22. but no
23. I stay with my aunt for half year

Stanza 9

24. the relationship is not so

Stanza 10

25. I don't know why
26. but when we stay in Vietnam
27. one of my aunts come back to Vietnam

Stanza 11

28. and she stay in my home
29. and we feel like it's not

Stanza 12

30. we can talk
31. we can say everything
32. we can live together

Stanza 13

33. but when we move here
34. and I saw her again
35. everything is not the same

In contrasting her experiences with her two aunts in the U.S., Hanh develops three main approaches which are found in the three main sections of Text 5.1. In stanzas 1 through 3, Hanh emphasizes the context of her adaptation during the first six months after her arrival. In stanzas 4 through 9, she contrasts two aunts who live in the Los Angeles area. And, in stanzas 10 through 13, she recalls the visit of one of her aunts to Vietnam, when she was still living there and questions the changes that her aunt underwent after returning to the U.S. Although the perspective of this text is historical, Hanh implies that her own process of adapting to life in the U.S. has been much like her aunt who though living in the U.S. for nine years, preserved as much as possible the "traditional" way of life of their family in Vietnam.

In the first section of Text 5.1, Hanh emphasizes the context of her primary socialization in the U.S. She repeats that she lived with her aunt for six "half years" while her parents and younger brother were living in Santa Ana with other family members. In another portion of the interview, Hanh notes that she was also attending adult school in Rosemead at that time, as she was too old to enter high school in the U.S. Underscored in this section is her separation from the rest of her family, and the implied choice of where she stays and with whom. Hanh had some latitude to determine the path of her adjustment to the social context of the U.S.

In the second section of Text 5.1, stanzas 4 through 9, Hanh contrasts her reaction to her two aunts who live in the Los Angeles area. The first aunt, who had been living in the U.S. for nine years, and with whom Hanh stayed for six months, lived a more "traditional life / like Vietnam" (ll. 14-16). Hanh remembers that her life was "comfortable" (l. 10). In contrast, when Hanh went to visit her other aunt, she could only tolerate one day, "and then say goodbye" (l. 20). By implication, the second aunt was not living a "traditional life like Vietnam," and so life with her would not be "comfortable." In stanza 8, Hanh stresses her own ability to make a choice as to where she stays and chooses a more traditional context. "Even if I close to them / but no / I stay with my aunt for half year" (ll. 21-23). Given the choice, Hanh prefers to follow the adaptive processes of the aunt who was less assimilated into mainstream culture rather than the aunt who was, presumably, more acculturated.

Hanh's preference for the more traditional lifestyle fits in with the broader theme of traditionalism, but with a strong orientation to Vietnamese rather than Chinese culture. She frames this particular choice by contrasting it with an experience that she had in Vietnam with an aunt visiting from the U.S. Hanh notes that when "one of [her] aunts come back Vietnam," the aunt stayed with Hanh's family. The event was "comfortable" for Hanh, and in stanza 12 Hanh emphasizes that her aunt still maintained the "traditional" way of life: "we can talk / we can say everything / we can live together" (ll. 29-31). Much like the aunt with whom she stayed in the U.S. for "half year," Hanh felt a sense of closeness and connectedness with the aunt who had come to Vietnam. However, when she saw the aunt who had visited Vietnam after Hanh arrived in the U.S., "everything not the same" (l. 34). In other words, Hanh couldn't "talk" or "say everything" and as a result couldn't "live together." Hanh uses this contrasting experience to explain "even if they [she and her aunt] close / but no- I stay with my aunt for half year" (ll. 21-22). In other words, Hanh does not directly state that the aunt who had gone to Vietnam was the same as the one with whom she "just stayed one day," but by juxtaposing the two parts of the narrative, she clearly implies that the two were either the same person, or at least followed parallel paths in adapting to the U.S. Prior to arrival in the U.S., Hanh had expected that she could maintain a traditional life in the U.S., and she had assumed that she would be able to maintain the kind of reciprocal, mutually open relationship like she had shared with her aunt in Vietnam, that is, a "close" relationship. But faced with the change in her aunt, she came to realize that she would have to choose between a traditional way of life and one which involved more acculturation to the dominant culture. She chose the former and rejected the latter.

For Hanh, the meaning of traditionalism is not straightforward. That is, she maintains many Chinese cultural beliefs and practices, but her attitudes toward language and history are distinctly oriented towards her attachment with Vietnam. In Text 5.2, which came in response to a question about the language that her family usually used around the house, Hanh describes her family's language usage patterns when they were living in Vietnam. In this text, Hanh points to the her perception that, in spite of her parents' attempts to influence her language patterns through Chinese school and Chinese videos, the younger generation of the family communicated almost exclusively in Vietnamese. Her parents' role in shaping Hanh's language attitudes and practices is also taken up in Text 5.3.

Text 5.2: *Not much Chinese*

Stanza 1

1. I went to school at four five years old
2. I six years old went to the first grade

Stanza 2

3. after school I went to the Chinese school
4. and we learned Mandarin and Cantonese
5. we learned Mandarin
6. but we speak Cantonese with the teacher

Stanza 3

7. and I go home
8. I never speak either Cantonese or Mandarin or Teochew
9. with my family
10. only Vietnamese <laughing>

Stanza 4

11. because my older sister
12. she start talk with me in Vietnamese

Stanza 5

13. the only ones that I just talk Teochew with my parents
14. and my grandfather
15. my grandfather and my grandmother
16. sometimes I speak Vietnamese with her
17. my grandmom she speaks Teochew with me

Stanza 6

18. I said you know what?
19. you know I learned either Mandarin or Cantonese from what?
20. from the movies

Stanza 7

21. and then we never talk Chinese in my house
22. only Vietnamese

Stanza 8

23. then when I went to school
24. I just spend one hour at school
25. Chinese school
26. and get not too much for my language

Stanza 9

27. but when we have a video
28. then the first time
29. my father said no Vietnamese videos

30. only Chinese videos

Stanza 10

31. I watched
32. like I can't remember what
33. like the first time I saw
34. I watched Chinese videos for two years
35. but I don't understand what they're saying
36. just saw the picture and the motion
37. and understand it

Stanza 11

38. but after two years I understand
39. and I thought I don't want to saw the Vietnamese pictures anymore
40. actually we don't saw that many movies in my house
41. only Chinese movies

In Text 5.2, Hanh describes two contexts for language use and the ineffectiveness of informal language policies in both. The theme of Chinese school is woven through the text, being mentioned in stanzas 1, 2, and 8, though the question was directed primarily at the home environment. For Hanh, Chinese school was an ineffective learning context. She notes that she "…learned Mandarin / but … speak Cantonese with the teacher" (ll. 5-6). However, neither of these languages was actively supported in the home environment. Hanh's family were Teochew speakers, and Teochew was only used with her grandparents, and to a limited extent with her parents. Elsewhere, Hanh notes that her grandmother asked, "why you don't talk Chinese with my family? Why we use Vietnamese around the house all the time?" However, Hanh's parents spoke a mixture of Vietnamese and Teochew around the house, and Hanh suggests that it was her older sister who "start talk with [Hanh] in Vietnamese" (l. 12). Hanh also implies that her parents' shift away from using Chinese might have been influenced by her uncle, who spoke more Chinese, but with whom Hanh's parents "had some problems." In short, neither the authority of family elders nor the influence of school was strong enough to influence Hanh to become fluent in Teochew, Cantonese, or Mandarin.

Hanh's parents did, however, try to shape the linguistic patterns of the family through the use of videos. Hanh credits videos rather than school for her ability to understand Mandarin and Cantonese. Her knowledge of those languages was primarily passive. In the central focus of the text, stanzas 6 through 8, Hanh brings together the main linguistic influences shaping her young life in Vietnam. In lines 19 and 20, Hanh notes, "I learned either Cantonese or Mandarin … / from the movies." But then she goes on in lines 21 and 22 to negate the influence of these Chinese languages: "And then we never talk Chinese in my house / only Vietnamese." Even Chinese school did not increase the status of Chinese in her family. Hanh points out that "I just spend one hour at … Chinese school / and get not too much for my language" (ll. 24-26).

Hanh focuses in on the effect of Chinese videos in the last three stanzas of Text 5.2. Although Hanh's family watched few videos, her father only allowed the family to watch Chinese videos, which Hanh noted elsewhere were videos in Cantonese or Mandarin and came from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China. Hanh recalls that she did not understand the videos for the first two years, "just saw the picture and the motion / and understand it" (ll. 36-37). But Hanh goes on to note, "but after two years I understand" (l. 38). The result was that Hanh "don't want to saw the Vietnamese pictures any more" (l. 39). However, Hanh minimizes the impact of choosing to watch only Chinese videos, stating that "actually we don't saw that many movies in my house…" (l. 40).

Consequently, for Hanh, *learning Chinese*, "either Cantonese or Mandarin," meant gaining listening skills in the context of watching videos, and speaking

Cantonese with her teacher, and speaking Teochew with her grandparents, but it did not deeply shape Hanh's sense of identity. As with the Chinese videos, many aspects of Chinese culture were not meaningful for Hanh, as she highlights in Text 5.3. While her family made some investments in the development of a multilingual Chinese identity for Hanh, the investment was not enough to overcome the ideology and cultural influence of the government school and other cultural influences. In other words, Hanh's Chinese identity became subordinate to her Vietnamese identity.

In Text 5.3, Hanh explains her attachment and loyalty to Vietnamese culture first by contrasting her experiences in Chinese and Vietnamese schools, and then by emphasizing this loyalty by recounting a Vietnamese movie that she saw in school that had a lasting impact on her. Although Hanh's language is less than fluent in this text, the affective and attitudinal influence of the movie make this an important text for understanding Hanh's sense of traditionalism and patriotism.

Text 5.3: *"I understand their heart"*

Stanza 1

1. It's a hard question
2. in some ways yes

Stanza 2

3. but sometimes I feel proud
4. because I'm Vietnamese
5. about Vietnamese history

Stanza 3

6. because yeah I'm Chinese
7. I went to school
8. I learned about Chinese history

Stanza 4

9. and it seem like I understand it
10. Just I read
11. I learn
12. and I don't understand it

Stanza 5

13. but in Vietnam

14. I went to school
15. and I go through the history

Stanza 6

16. and I understand the life
17. I understand the people
18. like my people

Stanza 7

19. because I was born in Vietnam
20. because I understand the people
21. I understand their feelings
22. their heart

Stanza 8

23. I remember one time from a Vietnamese movie
24. about the war 1975

Stanza 9

25. and a lot of women you know
26. they have the fought something
27. [soldiers American]
28. but from the North
29. and they want to move

Stanza 10

30. and the people from the North
31. some of them like the message

Stanza 11

32. like divided in two countries
33. so the North can't go to the South
34. but some of the Northerners
35. tried to go there to send the message
36. or do whatever
37. and a lot of girls were in that one

Stanza 12

38. a lot of girls
39. well sometime they try to get to the police?
40. the American police?
41. And when they can get to them

Stanza 13

42. we saw a movie
43. and sometimes they just try to take advantage of the girl
44. punish the girl
45. and they do a lot of bad things
46. and sometimes they killed them

Stanza 14

47. and I feel so um

Stanza 15

48. and my parents
49. they told me that they do that
50. about the girl

51. like they do that

Stanza 16

52. but I remember
53. I talked to them
54. that if I were a girl at that time
55. I would be one of that girl

Text 5.3 was elicited in response to a question about Chinese identity, "Have you ever felt proud to be Chinese?" Hanh, however, redirects the question to Vietnamese identity showing the strong orientation toward Vietnamese culture that she has chosen for herself. The text naturally divides into two main parts: (1) Understanding Vietnamese but not Chinese history and experience (stanzas 1-7), and (2) A movie about brave, patriotic Vietnamese girls (stanzas 8-16).

In the first section of Text 5.3, Hanh signals her relatively deeper understanding of Vietnamese culture through the use of two contrasting parallel structures, found in stanzas 2 and 3 and stanzas 4 and 5, respectively. The parallel structures each have three parts: *go to school*, *learn about history*, and *(don't) understand*. In the first of the two structures, Hanh notes that she is technically Chinese, she went to Chinese school, and she studied Chinese history. But her personal experiences do not lead her to a deeper understanding of what it means to be Chinese: "Just I read, I learn, and I don't understand it" (ll. 8-10). In contrast, "in Vietnam" Hanh went to school and studied history. The result was "I understand the life / I understand the people, like my people / … I understand their feelings, their heart" (ll. 14-16, 19-20). Understanding, for Hanh, comes not only through academic study and understanding of history but also through lived experience. Interestingly, Hanh does not view her lived experience as Chinese in nature, but rather she is ontologically Vietnamese because of her birth in Vietnam. Ideologically, she agrees with the government and those around her who represented the dominant (nationalistic) view that nationality is superordinate over ethnic heritage as a determinant of identity.

To illustrate her sense of solidarity with dominant Vietnamese culture, Hanh describes a movie that she saw during her schooling in Vietnam. The movie was about Vietnamese girls who supported the communist government during the Vietnamese civil war. These girls risked their lives to serve as messengers during the war. Hanh recalls from the movie that some were detained and tortured or abused by the South Vietnamese and American police/soldiers. Hanh discussed the movie with her parents, who confirmed the treatment of the Vietnamese girls who came to the South. Hanh then goes on to state, "I talked to [my parents] / that if I were a girl at that time / I would be one of that girl" (ll. 52-54). In other words, Hanh appears to accept without reservation the ideological stance of the communist government with regards to the events of the civil war.

Not only does Hanh argue that her strong orientation towards mainstream Vietnamese culture is beneficial to her, but she further argues that a strong Chinese orientation harmed many of her Chinese peers in Vietnam. In Text 5.4, Hanh contrasts her own education and experiences with those of her peers. In particular, Hanh's parents, but more so her first Chinese teacher, played a critical role in orienting her toward Vietnamese culture. In fact, her Chinese teacher could be viewed as a transformative individual who shaped Hanh's entire educational experience.

Text 5.4: *Too late for Vietnamese*

Stanza 1

1. I know a lot of friends
2. I have a lot of friends from Chinese

Stanza 2

3. when they were in Vietnam
4. they never went to school
5. they can't write or can't read Vietnamese
6. only Chinese

Stanza 3

7. but my parents said
8. "you were born in Vietnam
9. if you don't know their language
10. How can you communicate with them?"

Stanza 4

11. and we go together with my friends
12. but finally because they couldn't
13. they won't let them go to school
14. but finally they have to you know like they have a job

Stanza 5

15. they have to use the language
16. they have to go to the school
17. it's too late

Stanza 6

18. in their family they don't have to go to the school

Stanza 7

19. they don't even think about to ask their parents
20. "why I can't go to Vietnamese school?"

Stanza 8

21. that's why my parents didn't want
22. I go to school too
23. my grandparents actually

Stanza 9

24. because it's not they odnt' like the language a little bit
25. but because I was too young in their eyes

Stanza 10

26. even they sent me to Chinese school
27. when I was four years old
28. but when I was six
29. they didn't want me to go to Vietnamese school

Stanza 11

30. but my Chinese teacher talked to them
31. and they finally

Stanza 12

32. she talked to my parents
33. she talked to my grandparents
34. she talked to my aunts

Stanza 13

35. she said
36. "just tell me who won't let them go to school
37. I'll talk to them"

Stanza 13

38. that's why I can go to Vietnamese school

39. that's what make up my mind

Text 5.4 resulted from a question regarding acquaintances from Vietnam who would claim a Chinese identity but not a Vietnamese one. In this text, Hanh seeks to create a distinction between her family and the families of her many friends who had Chinese-dominant orientations. However, as the text develops, Hanh undermines this idea and points instead to a transformative individual—her Chinese teacher—as the person who influenced both Hanh and all of her family members.

Text 5.4 roughly divides into two parts. In the first section, stanzas 1 through 7, Hanh seeks to contrast her own family with those of her "friends from Chinese" (l. 3). Hanh notes that these friends "never went to school / they can't read Vietnamese / only Chinese" (ll. 5-7). At some point these friends wanted to attend school, but "they won't let them go to school" (l. 14); "it's too late" (l. 18). As a result, "they have to … have a job" (l. 15). Hanh implies that the inability to go to school is a loss to her friends, and she blames both the parents of her friends– "in their family they don't have to go to school" (l. 18)—and her friends themselves—"they don't even think about / to ask their parents / why I can't go to Vietnamese school" (ll. 19-20). In short, Hanh feels that her friends faced the difficult situation of working from a young age because they were "too late" to attend school. Moreover, since Hanh views school as the primary site for language learning, her friends' lack of access to schooling precluded their development of fluency in Vietnamese.

In contrast, in the first section of Text 5.4, Hanh suggests that her parents were supportive of her developing Vietnamese language skills and attending Vietnamese school. "But my parents said / you were born in Vietnam / If you don't know the language / how can you communicate with them?" (ll. 8-11). Clearly, Hanh's parents' perspective is not a strong assimilationist view; the dominant language and culture still belongs to "them". And in society, there is a need to "communicate with them." For Hanh, this meant that she was able to attend school, and she did not have to work at a young age.

In her discussion of schooling, Hanh seems unaware that the opportunity for schooling was related to the family's economic position in Vietnam, as well as their relationship to the government and the political economy of Vietnam. Thus, her family's decision to have all members leave Vietnam to go to the U.S., or to Australia in the case of her older sister, was somewhat unclear to Hanh, as she noted early in the interview. Elsewhere, she also commented that many of her old friends in Vietnam had become prostitutes because of their desire to have more access to money. Hanh even questioned whether she would be in the same situation if she were still living in Ho Chih Minh City. In the end, Hanh views her situation as not completely different from that of her friends.

The similarity between Hanh's family and her friends' families comes out clearly in the second half of Text 5.4, stanzas 8 through 14. However, Hanh's feelings toward her family's position were contradictory and unresolved. After pointing towards perceived deficiencies in her friends' families, Hanh notes, "That's why my parents didn't want / I go to school, too. / my grandparents actually" (ll. 21-23). Here Hanh's parents appear to have the same attitudes toward education as her friends' parents. In order to differentiate her parents from theirs, Hanh first points to her grandparents as the ones resistant to her schooling. Unsatisfied with that explanation, Hanh seeks to justify their choice by shifting away from ethnic or cultural prejudice—"it's not they don't like the language a little bit"—toward a more rational basis, her age—"but because I was too young in their eyes" (ll. 24-25). Yet Hanh recognizes the apparent contradiction in her position in stanza 10, "Even they sent me to Chinese school when I was four years old / but when I was six they didn't want me to go to Vietnamese school."

With the argument of age untenable, Hanh switches to a third approach to support her favorable attitude toward Vietnamese language and culture: the introduction of her Chinese teacher, who transformed the language attitudes of her family. Perhaps the favorable attitude of her parents, promoting the "need to communicate with them," was the result of her Chinese teacher's influence. Hanh emphatically describes how her teacher convinced the entire family to send Hanh to Vietnamese school: "She talked to my parents / she talked to my grandparents / she talked to my aunts / she said, 'just tell me who won't let them go to school / I'll talk to them'" (ll. 35-37). Hanh herself attributes her experiences and her cultural orientation to her teacher, whom she elsewhere notes was very close with her. "That's why I can go to Vietnamese school / that's what make up my mind" (ll. 38-39). In the end, Hanh suggests that not only her older family members but also she herself were in need of convincing by her teacher. In her teacher, then, Hanh finds the personalization of not only the development of Hanh's orientation toward Vietnamese culture but also her ongoing maintenance of this "traditional" mode of thinking in the U.S.

Elsewhere in the interview, Hanh credits her teacher more directly with the development of her nationalistic tendencies: "one of my teacher, my Chinese teacher…she taught even I'm Chinese, but Vietnamese is where you were born in. It's just like your second home, where you come from, it's your home." In many ways, Hanh implies in the interview that she has sought to emulate not only the ideological force of this influential teacher, but also her activism. In fact, in line 11, when Hanh states, "and we go together with my friends," her family seek to parallel her Chinese teacher's activism by bringing her friends to the school. However, their efforts were to no avail, in Hanh's view because of the time factor.

Hanh's overall orientation toward Vietnamese culture does not completely subsume her Chinese identity, however. In one part of the interview, Hanh noted that her parents were traditional in their orientation to Chinese culture. She described in detail how her parents would not let her go out on her own but only with her sister and that they would not allow her to be around boys, as her Vietnamese friends were. Hanh noted in another part of the interview that she wanted her hypothetical future children to go to Chinese school and to learn Mandarin. She would also teach them Cantonese and Teochew at home. Learning Vietnamese, Hanh suggested, would not be a problem because "Vietnamese is easy to understand." Hanh would also like to maintain the Chinese traditional way of life passed down to her by her grandparents and parents.

Hanh's belief in her responsibility toward the country of her citizenship carries over into Text 5.5, but in this text it is transferred to the social context of the U.S., and more specifically to the San Gabriel Valley region. The text actually came in response to a question regarding the usefulness/helpfulness of knowing languages other than English. But Hanh chooses to focus on the treatment that she receives by Mandarin speakers from Taiwan at the Chinese family restaurant where she works. Text 5.5 highlights the sense of reciprocity in language that has allowed the Chinese community to co-exist with the Vietnamese community in Vietnam, but which brings them into conflict with other Chinese groups in the U.S.

Text 5.5: *They should speak English*

Stanza 1

1. sometime you know they came to the [family restaurant where I work]
2. and you don't speak the language

Stanza 2

3. they speak
4. they don't even care
5. or they don't even look at me
6. and that I can understand them
7. and they don't look at me

Stanza 3

8. they expect that you will understand them
9. what you are saying

Stanza 4

10. and with most of them is Taiwanese

Stanza 5

11. and I don't like them
12. I don't like the way they speak with

Stanza 6

13. sometimes I didn't look like Chinese

Stanza 7

14. when they come
15. they didn't even look at you

Stanza 8

16. they just say they want what thing
17. I want this I want that and
18. like they just expect
19. I help them

Stanza 9

20. fine
21. if they speak English it's fine
22. cause right here is America
23. but America is not Taiwan
24. I don't have to [call them]

Stanza 10

25. I think that way
26.   and I feel bad

"They don't even look at me." "They expect that you will understand them." "They just say they want what thing." All of these behaviors by mostly Mandarin-speaking Taiwanese customers at the family restaurant where she works make Hanh "not like them" and "feel bad." These are the behaviors that shape Hanh's discussion in Text 5.5. Beyond representing rude behavior by customers, however, the unfulfilled expectations implied in this text point to significant cultural differences between the Chinese-Vietnamese and the Taiwanese.

In Text 5.5, Hanh illustrates the attitude that she attributed to her parents in Text 5.4: "If you don't know their language, how can you communicate with them?" Hanh suggests in Text 5.5 that the Taiwanese customers should look at her, and see that she "didn't look like Chinese," or at least that she might not understand their requests or demands. Hanh also does not like the fact that the Taiwanese expect her to understand them. They should find a mutually-intelligible language in which to communicate, instead of expecting her to accommodate to their linguistic patterns. Hanh also dislikes the communication style that they use, feeling that they are overly demanding. Although they were in the context of a Chinese-speaking environment in a family restaurant, and Hanh was in a service-oriented position, Hanh feels that those customers have disrespected her.

Underlying Hanh's "dislike" for the attitude of her Taiwanese customers is a belief in reciprocity that she developed in Vietnam. Like many of the interviewees, including Sandy and Maggie, Hanh supports the underlying belief that a speaker has a responsibility to adapt to the linguistic abilities of the listener(s). When an appropriate Chinese language or Vietnamese is not shared in common, then English is the appropriate choice, as Hanh suggests in lines 21 through 23: "if they speak English, it's fine / cause right here is America / but America is not Taiwan." Hanh does not have similar narratives of discrimination by Cantonese speakers, as was the case for Binh, Angie, Sandy, and Maggie. Rather, because of her strong orientation toward

Vietnamese, Hanh had not developed as strong an attachment to Cantonese. However, her years of Chinese school, and her orientation towards school in general as the site of language learning, combined with her strong sense of social justice, brought into clear relief her treatment by Mandarin speakers from Taiwan. In addition, she did not have similar narratives about Mandarin speakers from China, because the class and corresponding cultural issues are accentuated in the Taiwanese community.

Discussion

In her narratives, Hanh presents herself as strongly oriented toward Vietnamese culture and having a high degree of personal autonomy in decision-making. On the other hand, the details of Hanh's life are parallel to the other participants in the study. From young, Hanh's parents sent her to Chinese school. While they were convinced to send her to Vietnamese school because of her teacher, they nonetheless supported only Chinese in the home.

Hanh's *teacher* narrative in Text 5.4 provides interesting parallels with other participants' narratives regarding the development of Vietnamese language skills and a Vietnamese identity. Sandy, much like Hanh's friends, was raised in a family that provided support only for the development of Chinese language skills. However, out of a need for survival, and a need to communicate with her high school classmates, Sandy developed some degree of fluency in Vietnamese. However, without the strong ideological framework supporting Vietnamese language maintenance that Hanh had, Sandy reverted to a Chinese-dominant language pattern in the U.S. Hanh's more politically-oriented perspective allowed her to continue to support her national identity and social network, even after arrival in the U.S. On the other hand, Maggie, like Hanh, attended Vietnamese schools and had strong ties with Vietnamese friends, even in the U.S. Again, however, Maggie lacked the ideological orientation that Hanh gained from her teacher, and so did not maintain strong attitudinal ties to the Vietnamese community in the U.S.

Because of limits of their financial situation and their desire to provide a "future" for their three children, Hanh's parents decided that the entire family should immigrate to the U.S.—or in the case of Hanh's older sister who could not immigrate to the U.S., to Australia . Hanh's family moved to Santa Ana and then to the San Gabriel Valley, where they lived with family members who had come in the mid-to late-1980s as refugees. These family members provided models of economic and cultural adaptation which shaped their adaptation to the U.S. Finally, the process of their adaptation to the U.S. was forged in the sometimes conflictual fires of the San Gabriel Valley, with the large and highly stratified Chinese community. Hanh's lifestyle and aspirations are very similar to those of other Chinese-Vietnamese college students, as is the common social experience of being treated as an outsider because of her strong Vietnamese orientation.

Narrative Profile #6: Nghiep and Khue

Nghiep and Khue were born and raised in a Teochew-speaking family in the capital of the southernmost province of Vietnam, a small city named Bac Lieu, where their family were well-known as the owners of a rice mill. Nghiep and Khue, their parents, and a sister came to the U.S. in 1994, when Nghiep was 16 years old and Khue 18. Although the family was well-established in Vietnam, they left everything, economically speaking, in order to immigrate to the U.S. As with the other interviewees, Nghiep, Khue and their other family members joined an older sibling who had fled Vietnam by boat in 1979. They settled in Rosemead, where they have been living ever since.

In terms of education, Khue finished secondary school in Vietnam, but because of the high university entrance exam scores required, particularly for ethnic Chinese students, he was unable to attend university there. Nghiep was in secondary school when the family immigrated, and he finished the last two years of high school, graduating from Rosemead High School. Prior to enrolling in Pasadena City College, Khue worked at an embroidery factory, but cut down his hours at the factory after enrolling in PCC and getting need-based financial aid, which allowed him to get a job on campus for technology support, repairing machines. After graduation from Rosemead High School, Nghiep also enrolled in PCC. Nghiep was working in the school library at the time of the interview.

Both Nghiep and Khue studied one year of Mandarin in Vietnam when they were in primary school. However, they attended government schools in Vietnam, and Vietnamese was the primary language that they used as they grew up. At home, older family members usually spoke Teochew. However, since younger family members, like Nghiep, were not fully proficient in Teochew, they tended to mix in Vietnamese words when they did not know the Teochew equivalent. In addition, because of their relative fluency in Vietnamese, both Nghiep and Khue tend to form relationships with other Vietnamese speakers rather than with Chinese speakers. This tendency is further reinforced by the proclivity of more fluent Teochew speakers to switch to Cantonese rather than Vietnamese, as is discussed below. In fact, at one point in the interview, Khue predicted that Teochew was only one generation from extinction.

The issue of adapting to speaker expectations of language choice and use, which was present in both Sandy's and Hanh's narratives is much more fully elaborated in both Nghiep's and Khue's. In Texts 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, Nghiep, in particular, discusses speaker expectations for language use, and more specifically negotiations—or lack thereof—of language choice in three different contexts. Text 6.1 deals with the context of language use with neighbors, Text 6.2 with a Teochew co-ethnic in the U.S., and Text 6.3 with Vietnamese-speaking peers at school. In each context, the reported negotiations over language choice reflect parallel negotiations over ethnic identity.

Text 6.1: ***Neighbors*** (Nghiep)

Stanza 1

1. We are in the middle
2. and the last one is like Chinese
3. Taiwanese-Chinese

Stanza 2

4. and in the front of us
5. they are actually Chinese-Vietnamese
6. but somehow like
7. just a new neighbor move in in the front of us

Stanza 3

8. it's like Chinese-Vietnamese also
9. but we don't communicate with them a lot

10. somehow they came here like long long ago

Stanza 4

11. the older they basically speak like Chinese
12. sort of Cantonese I think
13. and they don't speak like Vietnamese to us

Stanza 5

14. so bye bye
15. who care?
16. I don't' want to communicate

Stanza 6

17. if they want to speak English with me
18. it's okay that way
19. it's just like we don't' communicate with the other

In Text 6.1, Nghiep outlines the relationship with the neighbors in the houses adjoining his family's. At the end of the triplex is a Taiwanese-Chinese family, who, according to Khue, spoke only Mandarin, no English or Taiwanese[1]. In the front house is another Chinese-Vietnamese family who speak Cantonese. In this text, Nghiep implies that he has no particular expectation regarding his family's relationship with the neighbors in the back house, as they share no common history or language. However, the neighbors in the front house are more problematic. As Chinese-Vietnamese, these neighbors should make an effort to find a common means of communication in Nghiep's opinion. Consequently, communication with the Chinese-Vietnamese neighbors has broken down.

---

[1] Taiwanese, like Teochew, is a southern Min language which is about 70% intelligible to speakers of Teochew.

In stanzas 2 through 6, Nghiep identifies two potential causes for the communication breakdown. First, in line 10, he notes, "somehow they came here like long, long ago." Nghiep does not elaborate on this factor, but implies that the neighbors' length of residence in the U.S., and therefore their adaptation to the social context, has some effect on communication between Nghiep's family and their front neighbors. The more important issue for Nghiep, however, is language. In stanza 4 he notes, "they speak … sort of Cantonese / and they don't speak … Vietnamese to us." Nghiep's neighbors speak a prestige form of Chinese, Cantonese, and they seemingly refuse to follow the convention of adapting to the listener's language abilities. Even if they had switched to English, Nghiep suggests in lines 17 to 18, "it's okay that way." Because the neighbors had lived in the U.S. for a long period of time, English would be an acceptable, though clearly less desirable, choice. However, the preferred medium of communication for people from Vietnam, at least from Nghiep's perspective, would be Vietnamese. By refusing to use Vietnamese, the neighbors were denying Nghiep a sense of solidarity or mutuality in communication, and were treating Nghiep in a seemingly condescending way since he clearly was not proficient in the prestige form of Chinese. Consequently, Nghiep rejects further communication with the neighbors. "So, bye-bye. Who care? I don't want to communicate… It's just like we don't communicate with the other" (ll. 14-16, 19). Since Nghiep comes from a cultural background where *neighbor* is an important social relationship, the end of communication is a significant matter.

Nghiep's point of view with regards to his two sets of neighbors provides an interesting complement to Hanh's description of her experiences with Taiwanese customers at the restaurant where she works (see Text 5.5). In their communication with others who are ethnically Chinese, both Nghiep and Hanh display an underlying expectation that speakers have the responsibility to adapt to the language abilities of their listeners. When Hanh's Taiwanese customers and Nghiep's Cantonese-speaking neighbors from Vietnam fail to adapt in oral exchanges, both Hanh and Nghiep feel a breach in mutuality and communication breaks down. Interestingly, Nghiep expectation regarding shared languages affects his relationship with his neighbors from Vietnam but not from Taiwan. In contrast, Hanh applies the expectation more generally, perhaps due to her more extensive experiences with Chinese education.

The relative prestige of Cantonese and the shift from Teochew to Cantonese is explored further in Text 6.2. In this text, Nghiep his negotiations with a Teochew peer in which he tries to get her to speak Teochew with him. When she chooses to speak only Cantonese and not Teochew, Nghiep does not reject her, as he did with his neighbor, but rather rationalizes her choice in terms of linguistic utility. He then returns to his own linguistic repertoire and relates it to his sense of identity.

Text 6.2: *No Teochew* (Nghiep)

Stanza 1

1. Not really
2. but one of my friends

Stanza 2

3. I seldom find Teochew Chinese
4. but they don't like to talk Teochew

Stanza 3

5. I don't know
6. but I seldom try to speak that with them

Stanza 4

7. one of my friends she speaks Teochew
8. she can speak with me

Stanza 5

9. but she actually Teochew
10. she like to Cantonese more

Stanza 6

11. maybe Cantonese more useful and somehow
12. I don't understand

Stanza 7

13. and I say "well just speak Teochew with me"
14. and she say "no"

Stanza 8

15. "I know I know
16. just talk for fun"

Stanza 9

17. and somehow she
18. I think she might interest in her mind
19. like she was like more Cantonese than Teochew
20. because Cantonese more useful

Stanza 10

21. if I know Cantonese
22. I can speak like
23. if for like Chinese I can speak for almost everyone

Stanza 11

24. if you know Teochew
25. you can speak with a small group of people
26. if I can I would study for Cantonese
27. you can like communicate for more other people

Stanza 12

28. but as I say like I love Teochew
29. because I'm a Teochew people

Text 6.2 was the response to a question of whether Nghiep used Teochew at school with his friends. Nghiep responds that he seldom finds Teochew speakers and that it is uncommon to use Teochew when he does find them. To illustrate some of the reasons for not using Teochew, Nghiep gives an example of an interaction with a friend in stanzas 4 through 9.

Nghiep notes that his friend "can speak [Teochew] with me," and that "she actually Teochew" (ll. 8-9). However, his friend "like to Cantonese more." In fact, his friend refuses to speak Teochew with Nghiep. Nghiep justifies her choice suggesting that "she might interest … more Cantonese than Teochew because Cantonese more useful" (ll. 18-20). In order to rationalize his friend's choice of languages, Nghiep shifts from the more distant "she" to "I" in stanza 10. In other words, he shifts positions to build a sense of solidarity with his friend and to demonstrate his understanding of her position. "If I know Cantonese, I can speak…for like Chinese…[to] almost everyone." He then shifts to the more generic "you" to mark a change in topic, to a position which actually mirrors his own choice. "If you know Teochew you can speak with a small group of people" (ll. 24-25). In other words, the argument for switching to Cantonese is that it gives the speaker more access to broader social networks, and presumably social and economic resources.

Nghiep concludes the section with a summary of his own position. "But, as I say like, I love Teochew because I'm a Teochew people" (ll. 28-29). Here Nghiep justifies his own willingness to speak Teochew. Unquestioned in Nghiep's summary, however, is his own language situation. Clearly, the conversation with his friend must have taken place in English or Vietnamese, since Nghiep does not speak Cantonese, as noted above, and his friend refuses to use Teochew. Although Nghiep "loves Teochew," on a practical level he builds relationships through Vietnamese. Vietnamese becomes a transparent, unquestioned aspect of Nghiep's identity, one which interferes less with his sense of identity than does Cantonese. In other words, Nghiep's shift in primary language from Teochew to Vietnamese, which he described elsewhere in the interview, was more natural than a potential shift to Cantonese would be for him.

The utilitarian view towards Cantonese, and the relative lack of usefulness of Teochew, was a theme mentioned by Khue, as well. In Text 6.3, Khue discusses the prestige given to Cantonese among Chinese-Vietnamese as directly related to the economic resources of Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong. In this text, he also contrasts Cantonese speakers with two other constituents of the Chinese community in the San Gabriel Valley, immigrants from China and from Taiwan.

Text 6.3: ***Teochew and Cantonese*** (Khue)

Stanza 1

1. You know in my Teochew is not the famous language

Stanza 2

2. if I know Teochew
3. or many people try to speak Mandarin
4. no Cantonese better

Stanza 3

5. I think because like when I come here
6. they want to be like Hong Kong
7. Cantonese people want to be like Hong Kong not from China

Stanza 4

8. I heard that you know like the Hong Kong better
9. rich

Stanza 5

10. and in China like the people they Republicans something

Stanza 6

11. but you know the Taiwanese
12. many experience that they outlook
13. they look very pretty you know something in their mind
14. or they not think you is better than

Text 6.3 is part of a larger discussion that stemmed from a question of whether Khue was proud to be Chinese. Just prior to Text 6.3, Khue was talking about a sense of pride coming from history, and especially from the ability of the Teochew people in Vietnam to manage their money. In Text 6.3, Khue shifts his attention to his experiences and opinions after coming to the San Gabriel Valley. Here the issue of Chinese-ness cannot be limited only to the Teochew people, or to Vietnam. Rather, Khue seeks to explain the shift away from Teochew that he has observed in the Teochew-Vietnamese community in the U.S. The main reason for the relative growth of Cantonese among Teochew speakers is the wealth of immigrants from Hong Kong, and the undesirable characteristics of people from China and Taiwan.

In stanza 2, Khue appears to brainstorm the options for linguistic development available to Teochew speakers from Vietnam. Teochew is not an important, or "famous," language, so it is essentially in the process of dying out. The other choices are Mandarin and Cantonese. According to Khue, Cantonese is "better" in the eyes of many Chinese-Vietnamese because they want to "be like Hong Kong" because "the Hong Kong better…rich" (ll. 7-9). However, Khue qualifies that it is the "Cantonese people" who want to be like what they perceive to be the wealthier people from Hong Kong. As a result, Khue distinguishes Cantonese-speaking from Teochew-speaking people from Vietnam.

In lines 10 to 14, Khue outlines reasons that Mandarin, the official language of both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, is not as "good" as Cantonese, at least from the perspective of the Chinese-Vietnamese. First, as the official language of China, Mandarin-speakers have a political orientation—"the people, like they Republicans something" (l. 10)—which is undesirable to many Chinese-Vietnamese who had fled from the oppressive government policies of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Second, Mandarin is also the official language of Taiwan, but many Chinese-Vietnamese have experienced negative treatment, condescension, by Taiwanese Chinese. In lines 13 and 14, though difficult to understand, Khue is stating that Taiwanese people "have something in their mind;" or to paraphrase, "they always think they are better than you." In this respect, Khue's perspective is the same as Hanh's in section 5 of this chapter. Consequently, Khue suggests that the political orientation and the discriminatory treatment by the Mandarin-speaking constituents in the San Gabriel

Valley region have kept Mandarin from being a popular language among the Chinese-Vietnamese.

The shift from Teochew to Cantonese, or from Teochew to Vietnamese is not an isolated one. As Khue remarks in Text 6.4, language loss and maintenance is related to geographical patterns of settlement. He then touches on an issue which he does not develop, but which came up in numerous interviews—the issue of language mixing—and which is discussed briefly following this text but in more depth below.

Text 6.4: ***Forgetting and mixing languages*** (Khue)

Stanza 1

1. Because some of my friends told me that they live in a other state
2. and they start to forgot Vietnamese if they don't speak for a while

Stanza 2

3. but if in here if they speak Vietnamese everyday
4. they speak Vietnamese every day
5. they cannot learn English though

Stanza 3

6. maybe if we live here longer
7. maybe like three languages mix it together
8. maybe we cannot know very clear which one

In this brief text, Khue raises two interrelated issues which are faced by most Chinese-speakers from Vietnam, forgetting and mixing languages. This text came in response to a question about patterns of language use at school, and Khue's initial response that he used Vietnamese and English. From stanzas 1 and 2, it is clear that Khue's peer network is Vietnamese-speaking, and they face the two polar tensions of language loss, the issue in stanza 1, and linguistic isolation, the issue in stanza 2. However, stanza 3 departs from the issues of stanzas 1 and 2. In stanza 3, Khue raises an issue of importance to the Chinese-Vietnamese but not to Vietnamese-only speakers. In stanza 3, the issue is the mixing of three languages, in this case Vietnamese, English, and Teochew.

Both Khue and Nghiep comment on the issue of language mixing in several parts of the interview. Nghiep notes that his proficiency in Teochew is less than that of his older siblings. As a result, he substitutes Vietnamese lexical items for unknown words in Teochew. Moreover, both Khue and Nghiep note that varying levels of access to education has resulted in variable language skills in different family members. Thus, Khue's father and older siblings were able to read and write Chinese and speak Mandarin. Younger family members, educated in Vietnamese, but with limited access to Chinese because of closure of the Chinese schools by the government, rely on Vietnamese for peer communication. The mixing, then, results from multilingual intra-family communication based around unevenly distributed language abilities, and lack of fluency in a common family language. The phenomenon of language mixing, particularly in an environment in which there is limited or no access to a more standardized form of any of the family languages, points to the potential for the development of a creole language without a related form of literacy used in intra-family—and possibly inter-family—communication. The implications of the development of such a creole and limited literacy have significant implications for Chinese-Vietnamese families, and therefore are discussed in more detail in the *Discussion* section below.

The complex issues of multiple languages in the family context were also a focal point for Nghiep. In Text 6.4, Nghiep responds to a question about the language(s) that his family wants his seven-month-old nephew to learn. However, after giving a brief answer to the question, Nghiep elaborates on his opinion by giving an example from his uncle's family, which has been in the U.S. for more than 16 years. He then applies the example to his nephew and himself to formulate a hypothesis about language and identity for himself and his family.

Text 6.5: *Passing on the family language* (Nghiep)

Stanza 1

1. We just hope that
2. he still know how to speak Teochew
3. that's really
4. I think that's our first choice

Stanza 2

5. of course like when he grow up here
6. it's like later we don't have to teach him English

Stanza 3

7. for Vietnamese like I think that's true
8. but I don't know like

Stanza 4

9. okay so let me tell you from my uncle's family
10. then I will go back to my family

Stanza 5

11. my uncle's family came here about
12. they also came here a long time ago
13. maybe 16 or 17 years ago

Stanza 6

14. and my uncle and my aunt the husband and his wife
15. they speak Teochew Mandarin

Stanza 7

16. he could speak Teochew Mandarin
17. because he's always good at school
18. he went to school he speak Vietnamese English

Stanza 8

19. and they start a business in LA
20. by CalState LA
21. so they could speak Spanish well too

Stanza 9

22. but their children that means my cousin
23. don't know how to talk Vietnamese
24. that's mean they don't talk Vietnamese inside the home
25. they speak Teochew and English only

Stanza 10

26. and then go back to my family

Stanza 11

27. usually like we
28. for now in my life

Stanza 12

29. it's like if I learn any language
30. if someone asks me
31. what language I speak the best
32. of course that's Vietnamese

Stanza 13

33. so in the family when you speak Vietnamese more
34. I think later at least
35. my nephew will know some of the word for Vietnamese

Stanza 14

36. in my opinion I hope we could taught
37. we will be teach him how to speak our family language
38. other language than Vietnamese

Stanza 15

39. origin
40. I think like somehow
41. if you're from wherever you are
42. whoever you are
43. and I think like
44. if you know who really you are
45. that's mean you
46. don't mean it's like discriminate other races or what
47. I think sometimes people need to know who we are

Stanza 16

48. that's just my opinion
49. I just want to know who I am

Following Nghiep's attempts to put words to his family's struggle to create a coherent identity from their complex language situation, Text 6.4 divides into four sections: (1) hope and reality for Nghiep's nephew—stanzas 1 through 3, (2) Nghiep's uncle's family—stanzas 4 through 9, (3) Nghiep's family and his nephew—stanzas 10 to 14, and (4) Nghiep's philosophy of language and identity.

The first section of Text 6.4 serves as an orientation to the issues developed in the sections that follow. In this section, Nghiep responds to a question regarding the language(s) that Nghiep's family would like to pass on to his seven-month-old nephew. Of highest importance in Nghiep's mind is that his nephew maintain the ability to speak Teochew. That desire is expressed in the optimistic, future-oriented verb "hope." Yet, having expressed the hope, Nghiep recognizes two complicating factors. First, the social context provides a great deal of support for Nghiep's nephew's learning English. As a result, Nghiep notes, "of course, when he grow up here … we don't have to teach him English." Second, Vietnamese plays a central role in Nghiep's family, making it more difficult for his nephew to learn Teochew. This second factor makes Nghiep less certain about the realization of the hope of maintaining Teochew in the next generation. He comments, "For Vietnamese, like I think that's true." While the referent for "that" is ambiguous, Nghiep appears to be building on his last statement that "we don't have to teach him English." The probability of his nephew's learning Vietnamese is also high because Nghiep and his siblings—especially the younger ones—tend to use Vietnamese for intra-family communication. The realization that it will not be easy to pass on the ability to speak Teochew to his nephew causes Nghiep to shift from his hopeful attitude to a more tentative one: "but- I don't know." He then transitions to the example of the success his uncle's family in enabling Nghiep's cousins to maintain the Teochew language.

Nghiep presents the example of his uncle's family in stanzas 4 through 9 as both an example for and a contrast with Nghiep's immediate family, as he suggests in lines 9 and 10: "let me tell you…from my uncle's family, and then I will go back to my family." First, Nghiep highlights two important facts about his uncle: his uncle and aunt have been in the U.S. since the early 1980s, and thus they have much more experience in the social context than do Nghiep, his parents and most of his siblings. Second, his aunt and uncle have learned multiple languages through both formal and informal means. At school in Vietnam and presumably in the U.S., they learned Mandarin, Vietnamese and English. Informally, through the family, they maintained the ability to speak Teochew. And because "they start a business in L.A. by CalState L.A., they could speak Spanish well, too." (ll. 15-21). Interestingly, the multilingualism of Nghiep's uncle is related to the conducting of business and interaction with the broader society. Business practices and culture are kept separate from the family, however, in terms of linguistic and cultural practices.

In spite of their multiple languages and corresponding literacies, Nghiep emphasizes that in their house, his uncle and aunt only allow the use of Teochew and English. Nghiep states, "but their children…my cousin don't know how to talk Vietnamese…. They don't talk Vietnamese inside the home. They speak Teochew and English only" (ll. 22-25). In other words, in order to maintain the heritage language, Teochew, Nghiep's uncle and aunt intentionally limited their access to other languages. The result was that Nghiep's cousins were able to speak Teochew. In contrast, Nghiep goes on to note in the next section, his ability in Teochew was limited by the presence of Vietnamese in the house.

In stanzas 10 through 14, Nghiep describes his own and his family's language situation and the probable impact on his nephew. In stanza 12, Nghiep notes that Vietnamese is the language in which he is most fluent. In the flow of Nghiep's narrative, this statement of fluency serves two purposes. First, Nghiep uses it to contrast himself with his cousins, who know no Vietnamese but are presumably fluent in Teochew. Second, he uses the statement of his own fluency in Vietnamese to explain the impact on his nephew: "in the family when you speak Vietnamese more … my nephew will know some of the word for Vietnamese. Here, Nghiep reconnects with his statement in stanza 3 discussed above "for Vietnamese…we don't have to teach him." Vietnamese is part of the linguistic environment in Nghiep's home; therefore, acquiring Vietnamese is taken as a given for Nghiep's nephew. However, teaching Teochew to his nephew will, in Nghiep's perspective, will take more effort and is less certain. "I hope we could taught…him how to speak our family language, other language than Vietnamese." (ll. 36-38). In other words, his nephew's acquisition of Vietnamese words will detract from his learning Teochew. Yet, since Nghiep's family are unable to control language choice among family members, because of the lack of proficiency among younger family members—the question of whether the nephew will actually learn the language or not is left open, an event to be "hoped for."

Based on his discussion of his nephew's situation and his description of his uncle's family, Nghiep puts forth his belief or philosophy of the need to maintain Teochew. His philosophy develops like this: "Languages tell you your origins, and knowing your origins is necessary to know who you really are. Therefore knowing your heritage language will tell you who you really are. Emphasizing your origins and your family language does not mean that you are treating other languages as less valuable. But maintaining the heritage language has value for the family." Nghiep then goes on to apply the corollary of his philosophy to himself. Because Nghiep is not fluent in Teochew, he does not feel that he knows who he really is, and he feels the need to know his origins: "I think sometimes people need to know who we are… I just want to know who I am" (ll. 47-49).

Discussion

As with many Vietnamese-dominant Chinese speakers from Vietnam interviewed in this project, Nghiep and Khue find themselves caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, their peer networks and much of their family communications have been formed through the use of Vietnamese. Both also see the limitations of speaking Teochew and see no need to learn Cantonese as a language of wider communication. However, both Khue and Nghiep express strong attachments to Teochew and desire to see it maintained in their family. Nghiep sees hope in the next generation's ability to maintain the language. On the other hand, Khue sees the linguistic mixing that is taking place in the family setting and the difficulty of maintaining Teochew due to the more widespread use of English and Vietnamese, and he is therefore more pessimistic about the maintenance of Teochew.

Nghiep and Khue are similar to Hanh, the other Vietnamese-dominant Teochew speaker discussed here in several ways. All three were educated in Vietnamese school and adopted predominantly Vietnamese linguistic networks. In both family contexts, Teochew was frequently mixed with Vietnamese, particularly among younger family members, who lacked proficiency in Teochew. Yet there are notable differences among the orientations of Hanh, on the one hand, and Nghiep and Khue, on the other. First, Hanh presents herself as much more critical of Chinese culture, as represented by Mandarin speakers from Taiwan, and disconnected from Chinese history. In contrast, Khue, in particular, but Nghiep as well, have a keen sense of connectedness with the history of the Teochew people in Vietnam. The orientation of the latter can be attributed, at least in part, to their geographical origin. Coming from a small southern city that they claim was actually originated and named by the Teochew, Khue and

Nghiep grew up with numerous physical reminders of their heritage. In addition, they came from a well-established and well-known family in their city, a family which used its resources to maintain the family identity and status. Hanh, on the other hand, came from the largest urban center in Vietnam, where the high percentage of Chinese speakers were from Cantonese-speaking backgrounds. In addition, Saigon in general, and Cholon in particular, were the focus of government campaigns to weaken the hold of the ethnic Chinese on the economy of Vietnam. Thus, the ideological efforts at developing a nationalistic identity would be keenest in the urban center. In many ways, Hanh's outlook represents the influence of the government's push for the complete assimilation of the ethnic Chinese community.

A second difference between Hanh, on the one hand, and Nghiep and Khue, on the other, has to do with their Chinese identities with relation to other Chinese groups in the social setting. Hanh grew up attending a Chinese school where the language of instruction was Cantonese and the language being learned was Mandarin. Consequently, Hanh sees a strong role for schooling in the process of maintaining Chinese language and a strong Chinese cultural orientation. Yet like Nghiep and Khue, Hanh sees home as the site at which Teochew and Vietnamese should be maintained. In addition, Hanh feels that she could teach Cantonese to her children at home. Interestingly, Hanh, Khue, and Nghiep all feel strongly that Cantonese is a much more useful language to learn than Mandarin. Khue's position was clearly stated in Text 6.3. Similarly, Nghiep noted:

> I never been to China
> but people just tell me
> Mandarin is the official language

but somehow Cantonese is more useful

same like in Vietnam also
Cantonese is more useful.

but when you learn
you learn Mandarin more than Cantonese
I don't know
maybe that's the way school

The underlying theme that Nghiep touches on here is echoed in many of the interviews. School is not necessarily the place where useful *knowledge* is learned. School may help a person learn to survive in a specific social setting, but it does not provide the knowledge that allows Chinese-Vietnamese people to maintain their identity and to succeed economically in the U.S. The implications of these beliefs will be discussed in more detail below.

Finally, Nghiep, Khue, and Hanh were much less likely than other interviewees to raise issues of conflict with Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, and they had fewer narratives relating to the separation of ethnic groups in the space of the school. In part, this is due to the relatively higher age at which they came. Neither Hanh nor Khue attended high school in the U.S., though both attended adult schools. Nghiep has a stronger Vietnamese identity, and thus was able to form peer relationships with other Vietnamese speakers. In addition, Nghiep demonstrated a strong tendency, much like Maggie discussed above, to test and at times transgress the social norms of language use. Consequently, though he was limited in some ways in terms of linguistic competence, Nghiep sought in small ways to extend his identity beyond the confines of his Vietnamese peer group more than did Khue or Hanh.

Synthesis

At the beginning of the chapter of this chapter, four sets of research questions were listed. These questions will now be discussed in two stages. First, in the *Synthesis* section below, specific language practices that emerged from the analysis of interviews are highlighted and discussed. Second, in Chapter 7, these practices are framed within a broader view of the Chinese-speaking community from Vietnam in the San Gabriel Valley Chinese *ethnoburb*, and the findings germane to the research questions are then discussed more explicitly from this perspective.

Language is important for Chinese-Vietnamese families, and issues of language maintenance, addition, and exclusion represent often strongly held beliefs about the family, their ethnic identities, and their path of adapting to the San Gabriel Valley region.

Language Practices

The interview participants all mentioned various family practices used to foster language maintenance or acquisition. The most common practice mentioned by all of the participants was attending Chinese school. In fact, all of the participants themselves attended Chinese schools—five in Vietnam, one in the U.S., and one in China—and most felt that younger family members or future children should be sent to Chinese school to learn Mandarin. However, the participants were mixed on their views of the effectiveness of Chinese schooling. For example, Hanh attended 10 years of Chinese school in Vietnam, yet she felt that she "get not too much for [her] language" (Text 5.2). Still, the most memorable person in Hanh's educational background was her Chinese school teacher who helped her to go to Vietnamese school. And, when she asked about her own children in the future, Hanh replied that would send them to Chinese school, and valued it as a means of maintaining her family's Chinese identity. Angie, too, had a somewhat negative experience of Chinese schooling. Angie attended both an after-school Cantonese program and a Saturday school where she learned Mandarin when she was living in San Francisco. The latter, she felt, was very ineffective because she studied as a teenager, whereas most of the other students in the school were younger. Maggie's main memories of Chinese school had to do with the strict teachers. Nghiep and Khue, whose Chinese school was closed down when they had only been able to attend for less than a year expressed a sense of loss at not being able to attend Chinese school, a feeling which was echoed by other participants in the interviews as well.

In addition to the language learning that took place in Chinese schools, Chinese school teachers figured prominently in the narratives of several participants, while Vietnamese teachers did not. As noted above, for example, Hanh's Chinese teacher took an active role in her education beyond the classroom, convincing Hanh's entire family to allow her to attend the government school. Another interview participant, Linh, who grew up in a Hainanese family in Danang, in Central Vietnam, was also deeply influenced by a Chinese teacher. A sample of her narrative follows:

> Sometimes I don't know
> like should I answer that I'm Chinese-Vietnamese or Vietnamese or Chinese
> I don't know
>
> when my teachers asked me
> the Chinese teacher
> and I said that because I was scared
> like when I answer like I am Chinese and Vietnamese
> he will speak Chinese with me

at that time I didn't know like Chinese language
so I said "I'm Vietnamese"

but he said he correct me
say "no you are Chinese and Vietnamese"

that's why all his students are Chinese and Vietnamese

Here, Linh's Chinese teacher provides a contrast with Hanh's teacher seen in Text 5.4. Whereas Hanh's teacher promoted Hanh's integration into the broader social context, Linh's teacher promoted the reclaiming a stronger Chinese identity. However, the social context of the two teachers' behavior is clearly a factor. In Linh's case, the Chinese community had continued its pattern of segregation from the broader community, and had as little contact as possible with Vietnamese-speaking society. In contrast, the Chinese community in Danang was much smaller and in danger of being completely assimilated into dominant culture. In each case, the Chinese teachers worked against what they saw as prevailing negative tendencies affecting the Chinese community in the region. In so upholding their moral roles, they served not only as positive role models but more importantly as cultural mediators for these two youth.

Regulating Language Practices in the Family

A second language maintenance practice common among interview participants had to do with regulating languages in the home. For example, Sandy noted that in her home in Vietnam, only Cantonese was allowed; she only learned Vietnamese in the refugee camp in the Philippines (see Text 3.5). Similarly, in Maggie's home, the use of Vietnamese resulted in punishment by her grandfather, an act mimicked by Maggie and her brother. Other family members also expressed lack of acceptance of the use of Vietnamese in the home by mocking Maggie's friends who spoke Vietnamese (see Text

4.2). Angie does not explicitly state that Vietnamese was not spoken in her home; however, she does note that her mother taught the children only Cantonese, not Teochew or Fukkien, the family heritage languages (Text 2.3a). In addition, when Angie speaks with her cousins, she claims to use only Teochew, not Vietnamese (Text 2.3b). While the true nature of her family's communication cannot be certain without micro-level analysis of their communication, her reported practices do suggest that her nuclear family monitors and regulates language behavior. In Hanh's family, spoken Vietnamese was allowed in peer communication, but only Chinese videos were allowed, and were an important source of learning for Hanh (see Text 5.2). In addition, like the parents of her Chinese friends (see Text 5.4), Hanh's parents were unwilling to send her to the government school until her teacher intervened. In each of these families, older family members, usually male, sought to regulate language to preserve its role in the family, maintain its status, and frequently to maintain the family's connection to the Chinese community outside of Vietnam.

The importance of both Cantonese and Mandarin video and music media in Hanh's family, was echoed in many of the interview participants. Popular Chinese media play an important role in promoting Chinese language skills, preserving a sense of connectedness with Chinese culture, and enhancing the attitudinal connection of the Chinese-Vietnamese with the broader Chinese diaspora. Sandy, for example, credits karaoke video with promoting literacy among her family and friends (see Text 3.5). Similarly, Hanh credits videos from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China for her ability to understand both Cantonese and Mandarin (Text 5.2). And Nghiep looks to the Chinese music tapes that his father plays and his sister explains on Chinese Lunar New Year as an important connection for him with his Chinese identity.

In families that were unable to provide access to Chinese schools in Vietnam—or could only provide limited access because of the social context—and did not regulate language, Vietnamese was much more a prominent part of family communication, and younger generations tended to mix languages. Khue (Text 6.4) noted that in the U.S. his family tends to mix Vietnamese, Teochew, and English. Angie noted a similar phenomenon in her cousins (Text 2.4b). Her cousins tended to speak Vietnamese and mix in Teochew, while Angie stated that she spoke only Teochew with them. Both Khue and his brother Nghiep see this mixing as problematic, but concede that it will likely continue among younger family members, to the extent that Khue believes that they are losing the distinction among the languages. Indeed, Nghiep suggests that the lack of fluency in Teochew will keep the family from maintaining the language in the next generation. Khue and Nghiep both expressed the opinion that Teochew was in danger of disappearing completely among the children of Teochew-speaking Vietnamese immigrants to the U.S..

The significant investments of Chinese-Vietnamese families in Chinese education, their belief in regulatory behaviors, and the desire to preserve a Chinese language, even among Vietnamese-dominant families, like Khue's and Nghiep's, as well as Hanh's—points to a high value placed on ensuring the survival of Chinese as a core family language. In contrast, Vietnamese, though an important language for the purpose of maintaining face in Vietnamese-oriented social networks, occupies a more peripheral position among most Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

The Shift toward Cantonese

Another feature of the strengthened sense of Chinese identity can be found in the shift among some community members and family networks to Cantonese. For example, Nghiep's Teochew friend who refused to speak to him in Teochew, preferring to use Cantonese discussed in conjunction with Texts 6.2 and 6.3, and the spread of Cantonese in Angie's family described in Texts 2.3a and 2.3b, are indicative of the shifts in many Chinese speaking families from Vietnam. Linh, introduced briefly above, came from a Hainanese-speaking family, but like the trend in some Teochew families, they were influenced by a family member—in this case an older uncle—who had a stronger Chinese background and who came to the U.S. earlier, among the refugees who fled Vietnam by boat. As an older male family member, Linh's uncle was able to enforce somewhat of a language-regulatory practice and influence Linh's nuclear family, a Vietnamese-dominant family, toward the use of Cantonese.

In contrast to the observable shift toward Cantonese, there has not been a parallel shift toward Mandarin. Although Mandarin is the de facto language of Chinese education, in Vietnam as well as in the U.S., and Mandarin speakers from Taiwan have exerted as much of an influence on economic development in both the San Gabriel Valley as have investors and business people from Hong Kong, the perception remains among Chinese-Vietnamese that Cantonese is the more useful language. Khue's succinct summary in Text 6.3 suggests that Cantonese is the better language because people from Hong Kong are "rich" and though the Taiwanese are also wealthy they have more of a condescending attitude toward the Chinese-Vietnamese. However, the size of the Cantonese-speaking community in Vietnam, and the fact that they comprised a relatively high percentage of the refugees from Vietnam is an additional factor influencing non-Cantonese speakers from Vietnam to shift toward Cantonese. The need for survival in the U.S. among Chinese-Vietnamese refugees, as well as the access to jobs gained through the use of Cantonese, also helped promote the status of Cantonese among both the refugees and the family members who came later and depended on their experiences.

"Hidden" Language Practices and Competencies

The ambiguous position of the Chinese-Vietnamese with relation to other Asian groups in the social context led to more "hidden" language practices, as well. For example, Angie's narrative in Text 2.4 of her rejection by a classmate from Hong Kong resulting from her mother's use of Vietnamese demonstrated her sense of need to keep her Vietnamese identity—and probably language abilities—hidden in public settings. Conversely, Maggie's and Sandy's "surprise" revelation of their ability to use Chinese and Vietnamese, as well as Sandy's refusal to acknowledge her ability to use Vietnamese—demonstrate ways in which Chinese-Vietnamese can bring into play hidden aspects of their linguistic repertoires to position themselves toward others in their social contexts.

However, the mere ability to speak Cantonese does not promote their status among the Chinese-speaking community in general, nor among Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, in particular. In almost all reported cases, the nationality of the Chinese-Vietnamese excludes them from the privileged discourse and the higher status language versions of Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong. Binh's description in Text 1.5 of his exclusion by Cantonese speakers from both Hong Kong and China points to the strong linguistic and social barriers facing many Chinese speakers from Vietnam.

Lack of Access to Fluent Language Varieties

The Chinese-Vietnamese are tied to three disparate social groupings in the context of the San Gabriel Valley—dominant American culture, Vietnamese (Chinese) refugee experiences, and Chinese transnationals—through their participation in social contexts such as schools, through the on-going dependence of more recently arrived family members on those who fled Vietnam by boat, and through their participation in the immigrant economy as well as shared physical space with other Chinese groups in the San Gabriel Valley region. Yet their often peripheral participation in all three groupings results in a lack of access to fluent, unmixed versions of language as well as to the official discourse which utilize the standardized varieties. The result is the continued linguistic and social marginalization of the Chinese-Vietnamese.

The educational and social implications of this process of the marginalization of the Chinese-speaking community from Vietnam are significant and are taken up in more depth in Chapter 7. This discussion is framed around an ecological perspective of language in the Chinese-Vietnamese community in the San Gabriel Valley.

CHAPTER 7: Language in the Margins

At the end of the last chapter, I summarized a number of language practices that the families of the interview participants used to help them maintain and acquire languages. In addition, I explored common narrative themes of family influences, particularly through the regulation of language behavior, and the role of Chinese schools and teachers in maintaining linguistic skills and ethnic identity. In many cases the lack of access to standard varieties of language—through schools and media—led to linguistic mixing, while in other cases a variety of factors promoted a shift to Cantonese among non-Cantonese-speaking families. A description of language behavior alone, however, is an inadequate basis for understanding how language connects the individual or the family with the social context.

In Chapter 3, it was argued that through narratives individuals construct, modify, and/or contest identities which they have developed through primary socialization, later acquisition, or imposition by hierarchical social relations in the environing social context (Gee, 1992, 1996). The underlying beliefs shaping the development of these narratives can be seen through their thematic development, and in particular through the contrasts or internal contradictions that emerge in the process of narrativizing. While one side of the contradiction "wins out" and subordinates the other in the text, the subordination process is not fully resolved and the text remains paradoxical. In this conception of narrative, the paradox in the text reflects deeper attempts to come to terms with paradoxes and contradictions in the social contexts and histories of the speaker. The text seeks to remove the paradox and contradictions by privileging one contrast over another. It is precisely in these points of indeterminacy that texts are open to interpretation through narrative analysis.

This dissertation has addressed itself to contradictions that exist at the nexus of multilingualism, ethnic identity, as well as the educational histories and identities of Chinese-Vietnamese community college students in the social context of the San Gabriel Valley Chinese. The contrasts and paradox to which Gee (1996) refers were clearly evident in the narrative development of interview participants. The ethnolinguistic identities assumed by the participants depended to a great deal on the social context

One level of contradiction that emerged in the context of the narratives had to do with the different meanings of language for the Chinese-Vietnamese and for other groups of Chinese in the San Gabriel Valley. Wealthier Chinese groups, involved in transnational Chinese capitalism, or *Chinese transnationalists* (Ong & Nonini, 1997), invest in educational and linguistic cultural capital as a means of extending economic interests and eluding localization in the context of the San Gabriel Valley, as in other parts of the world. Multilingualism in the Chinese community is a means of extending familistic economic interests into the context of the San Gabriel Valley. The Chinese-Vietnamese accepted the language ideology of Chinese transnationalists. That is, the Chinese-Vietnamese have accepted a set of beliefs about the relationship between language and the distribution of goods in society (Gee, 1996; Giddens, 1984, 1987). One effect of accepting the language ideology of Chinese transnationalism was that among Chinese-Vietnamese community college members, language choices did not reflect a linear progression from a Chinese or a Vietnamese identity to an English-dominant "American" identity. Instead, as noted above, some families shifted from Chinese heritage languages such as Teochew and Hainanese to Cantonese. For example, in Text 2.3 Angie's description of her family's pragmatic shift toward

Cantonese reflected her mother's ability to "upgrade" their family's situation. Similarly, in Text 6.2a, Nghiep tells of his friend who was Teochew but was only willing to speak Cantonese with Nghiep because of what Nghiep suggested was the "usefulness" of Cantonese. This example was echoed by Linh, introduced in the synthesis section of the previous chapter, whose uncle influenced her entire Hainanese family to shift towards Cantonese. Khue was explicit in Text 6.2b that the shift had to do with the desire of the Vietnamese to imitate the "rich Hong Kong."

The shift toward Cantonese also reflected the desire to reclaim a Chinese heritage that had been eroded because of cultural and political shifts and lack of educational support for Chinese in Vietnam. For example, in Text 3.5, Sandy's narratives of her family's strategies for language development pointed to a belief that learning Cantonese allowed both Cantonese speakers and non-Cantonese speaking Chinese groups to strengthen their sense of being Chinese and to have access to more diverse means of language maintenance through the Hong Kong/Chinese-Cantonese media. The importance of Chinese education, highlighted in the synthesis section of the previous chapter, also served as one of the more important means by which families attempted to reclaim a stronger Chinese identitys.

Yet the shift toward Cantonese to reclaim the economic status that the Chinese community had enjoyed in Vietnam and to reconnect in a coherent way with Chinese diaspora communities was not accompanied by a parallel shift toward Mandarin, in spite of the fact that participants recognized the influence of Taiwanese wealth in the San Gabriel Valley region and the importance of Mandarin in both China, the cultural and political center of the Chinese-speaking world, and Taiwan, one of the strongest economies in Asia. Instead, Chinese-Vietnamese participants have a sense of cultural dissonance with respect to the Taiwanese Chinese. In Text 6.3, Khue suggests that the dissonance comes from an attitude of condescension on the part of the Taiwanese. Hanh echoes this attitude in Text 5.5, noting that Taiwanese speakers always expect her to adapt to their language rather than the speakers adapting to the language that the listener has in common with in common with the speaker.

Several points should be made here. First, when Chinese-Vietnamese speakers interact with ethnic Vietnamese or Vietnamese-dominant Chinese-Vietnamese speakers, there is an unspoken understanding that the speaker will adapt to the language abilities of the listener. For example, Nghiep, in an interview segment not presented in Chapter 6, described how he playfully rebuffs his Vietnamese-speaking peers for speaking English in the ESL classroom:

Stanza 1
1. Some of [friends] I usually speak English
2. some of them I usually speak Vietnamese
Stanza 2
3. so in English class
4. whenever they speak Vietnamese
5. I say "English please"
Stanza 3
6. they say "okay okay I know"
7. I think they know what I mean
8. that's mean I just telling
9. it's something like a little bit sure and a little bit fun
10. and they usually not every they feel okay
Stanza 4
11. people hate me to do that [outside of class]
12. maybe they'll say 'mind your own business'
Stanza 5
13. somehow like my English is not so good
14. if you say that
15. maybe you can see
16. how they can say that but also
17. then if they better than you
18. then you say something like that
19. and they ask you something you don't know

20. well that's mean like

Stanza 6

21. we have a idiom
22. that's mean like you face your back
23. for people they do something bad for you
24. cause they don't want to do that way

Stanza 7

25. that's mean like
26. you make people do
27. you think that you're right right?
28. but then if something coming back to you
29. and you get bad
30.   like you embarrassed by yourself

In this text, Nghiep notes that most of his classmates tolerate his playful regulation of language because of the *de facto* official role of English in the classroom. However, he does not dare do the same outside of the classroom. To do so would be to set himself up for a major loss of face. To preserve face, only Vietnamese could be used. In contrast, in Text 3.2, Sandy described how she manipulated her identity in the setting of the classroom to avoid the consequences of the social norm requiring her to use the preferred language of the listener. Sandy hid her Vietnamese fluency from other Vietnamese speakers so that she would be able to use English rather than Vietnamese with her peers, a practice which, however, was untenable with her Cantonese-speaking friends. Maggie also notes in Text 4.4 the she made use of the speaker's obligation to use the common language to surprise her classmates who were talking about her in order to gain a kind of social advantage in that setting.

Given the Chinese-Vietnamese norm for adapting to listener preferences/expectations in multilingual settings, the refusal of Taiwanese Mandarin speakers to adapt to the common language with Chinese-Vietnamese listeners is on one level a breach of the common-sense rules of communication as understood by the Chinese-Vietnamese listeners, rules which fit the social and cultural context into which the Chinese-Vietnamese had been acculturated in Vietnam. The notion of a "culture clash" is further supported by the fact that the participants with the strongest narratives related to negative interactions with the Taiwanese were also those participants with the strongest Vietnamese identities.

However, on another level the refusal of speakers to adapt to listeners is part of a broader pattern of core and periphery within the social space of the San Gabriel Valley. The lack of accommodation experienced by participants with stronger Vietnamese identities was in many ways parallel to the rejection that a number of Cantonese-speaking participants described in the context of interactions with Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, and in some cases from China. Angie stated her experience as strongly as any of the participants when in Text 2.4 she described how a "friend" cut all ties with her once the friend realized that Angie was actually from Vietnam and not Hong Kong. In Text 3.3, Sandy described a similar interaction that her sister had had with a friend from Hong Kong. In Text 1.5, Binh relates the experience of condescension in interactions with schoolmates from Hong Kong. Even Maggie, who was the among the most conciliatory and flexible of all interviewees, was unable to form meaningful relationships with Hong Kong Chinese, in spite of her demonstration of linguistic skills (Texts 4.4b, 4.5).

In narratives involving Chinese speakers from Hong Kong and Taiwan, two of the major sources of Chinese transnational influence in the San Gabriel Valley, language allowed the Chinese-Vietnamese at times to form temporary bonds of solidarity, but in all cases the relationships ended because barriers were erected by the potential friends from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Both Binh (Text 1.5) and Angie (Text 2.4), the two interview participants with the strongest Cantonese identities, suggested that the barriers had to do with stereotypes of Vietnamese people—whether ethnic Chinese or Vietnamese—as thieves, gangsters, or mean people. Interestingly, neither Binh nor Angie strongly contest those attitudes. Instead, both point to shortcomings among their peers from Hong Kong. Maggie, too, senses the barriers toward her peers from Hong Kong and felt most disconnected with them, especially over attitudes toward money (Text 4.5), but did not locate the underlying source of the conflict as related to class but simply as "conceit."

In the San Gabriel Valley, immigrant groups' attitudes toward class form a strong boundary between wealthier Chinese groups from Taiwan and Hong versus the Chinese-Vietnamese, which is further reinforced by a kind of nationalistic identity. In Chapter 2, the notion of ethnic suburb, *ethnoburb* (Li, 1997, 1998), was introduced to describe the social context of the San Gabriel Valley region. One of the features of the ethnoburb, according to Li (1998), is that:

> Polarization of socioeconomic status and occupational structure of ethnic residents in ethnoburbs is much greater than ghettoes and enclaves. Therefore, the formation and manifestation of ethnoburbs not only involve racial conflicts between different ethnic groups, but also class conflicts within the ethnic group itself.

Li goes on to suggest, however, that because the ethnoburb serves as a hub or a network of economic, social, and political relationships for the ethnic group, members of that group often "unite under the banner of group consciousness" to contend for their rights.

The polarization of the Chinese-Vietnamese from other Chinese groups was clearly evident in narratives relating to educational contexts, particularly in narratives set in the context of high school. Binh, for example, argues in Text 1.5 that the fact of his birth in Vietnam led to ostracism by both groups from China and from Hong Kong, in spite of the fact that he had no memory of Vietnam and no sense of personal connection with Vietnam. Similarly, in Text 2.4, Angie argues that her ability to use Cantonese with her classmate from Hong Kong should have been enough to create a sense of solidarity and serve as a basis for friendship. However, her expectations were frustrated because her classmate ended the relationship saying that her parents did not allow her to relate with Vietnamese people. One of the dominant themes of Maggie's interview was her experience of (semi-voluntary) peer segregation in her San Gabriel Valley area high school (see Text 4.1), and already-mentioned sense of disconnection with peers from Hong Kong (Text 4.5). For nearly all of the participants, especially those with stronger Chinese identities, the experience of attending high school in the San Gabriel Valley was a particularly polarizing one for participants.

On the other hand, while Li (1997, 1998) contends that, in the face of conflict, ethnic ties come into play resulting in ethnic solidarity, the narratives discussed in Chapter 6 highlighted the experiences of many Chinese-Vietnamese that interactions between the Chinese-Vietnamese and Chinese-speaking groups from other backgrounds were colored by the class backgrounds and the refugee experience of the Vietnamese Chinese. For groups coming from Hong Kong, these ethnic, class, and nationalistic barriers reached back to Hong Kong, which had been host to refugee camps until it returned to China in 1997. Often these camps were considered hotbeds of crime and poverty, and most Hong Kong residents resented their existence. These attitudes were further supported by reports in Los Angeles of Vietnamese gang activity. As a result, while language initially promotes ethnic solidarity between Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong and Vietnam, class interest and ethnicity- and nation-based stereotyping eventually obliterated any sense of ethnic solidarity.

Many of the Chinese-Vietnamese participants also expressed ambivalence toward their own Vietnamese identity, not only because of their treatment by other Chinese groups in the San Gabriel Valley region but because of their desire to strengthen their "diluted" sense of Chinese identity. Hanh, for example, who had arguably the strongest Vietnamese narrative identity (see, for example, Text 5.3, and was the most critical of her Chinese identity (see, for example Texts 5.2 and 5.4) of any participant, expressed the desire to educate her children in Chinese, noting that they would (passively) learn Vietnamese in the home context but that teaching them Chinese was both more challenging and more important. Similarly, Nghiep, another Vietnamese-dominant participant expressed a clear sense of loss at his own inability to speak Teochew, his *family language*, and his desire to see his infant nephew grow up with the ability to speak Teochew in order to know "who he really is" (see Text 6.5). Similarly, in Text 3.5, Sandy echoes this same desire for her nephew, as well. However, while Nghiep felt that his nephew would passively acquire Vietnamese, which was considered an easier language and was spoken more widely in the home context, Sandy saw no need for her nephew to learn Vietnamese, whose usefulness was rooted in a past context. Sandy's attitude was representative of those of numerous other interview participants.

Conversely, many participants found that their assuming a Chinese identity brought them into conflict with non-Chinese co-nationals. Linh, for example, states this position in the following excerpt:

> Sometimes we are best friends, but sometimes my Vietnamese friends she doesn't like that when I said that I'm Chinese. She say where are you from? Actually you are from Vietnam. Why you say you are Chinese and Vietnamese. I say like, I am from Vietnam, but my original is Chinese, so I want to keep that, you know? But I'm not like separate from Chinese and Vietnamese.

Linh, who only started to learn to read Chinese and speak Cantonese after coming to the U.S., faced a conflict similar to that of many Chinese-Vietnamese. That is, their Chinese identity was challenged not only by other Chinese groups in the San Gabriel Valley but also by co-nationals from Vietnam. Thus, the attempt to reclaim a Chinese identity is fraught with conflict and potential pitfalls for the Chinese-Vietnamese.

On the one hand, many of the interview participants would agree with Nghiep's statement that language tells a person who she really is, in a historical sense, with respect to the environing society. This is similar to the idea put forth by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985; for further discussion, see Chapter 3) that language use and language choice essentially are acts of identity that are developed in part in response to the social context. The identities, or *Discourses* (Gee, 1992, 1996), acquired and used by individuals are developed in particular sets of unequal historical social relations. Furthermore, it was argued in Chapter 3 that language choice and language variety serve to construct, reinforce, or challenge boundaries between groups, ultimately serving purposes of group status and/or solidarity.

On the other hand, many interview participants experienced the reality that the very groups with which their language gave them greater linguistic access challenged certain aspects of their identity. Vietnamese dominant participants, like Nghiep, Khue, Hanh, and Linh, were able to function in predominantly Vietnamese language networks, but to do so caused a sense of loss of historical and ethnic identity. And the assertion of a Chinese identity within Vietnamese language networks met with resistance. On the other hand, those who sought to assert a stronger Chinese identity through the maintenance and/or acquisition of Cantonese, like Binh, Angie, Sandy's sister Amy (see Text 3.3), and Maggie, were unable to gain access to Cantonese-language networks, or at least Hong Kong-Cantonese language and social networks, and in some cases faced outright rejection.

Consequently, the very existence of the Chinese-Vietnamese community as such is contested from all directions within the social context of the San Gabriel Valley. Moreover, the contexts in which these contradictions were most inescapable were educational settings, where peers from different Asian backgrounds were forced to share the same physical and social space. The common way in which participants dealt with the polarization of the social context was to join a group of others who came from similar backgrounds, usually defined on the basis of nationality. This was the case for Maggie, as described in Text 4.1. In fact, Maggie's pressured her not to relate to peers from other groups, and especially to "Mexican". Peers. However, when no appropriate group could be found, as Binh related in Text 1.5, the result was social alienation and isolation. The sense of social isolation was an important theme among many participants, especially female participants, whose movement and ability to form peer relationships, like Maggie's (Text 4.1), were often restricted by older male family members.

Involvement by the Chinese-Vietnamese in peer groups often involved "hiding" and therefore negating certain aspects of their identities. Participation in Vietnamese groups involved hiding Chinese identity, as discussed above in relation to the excerpt from Linh's interview. The attempt to build relationships with other Cantonese or Mandarin speakers involves hiding Vietnamese origins and traits, either intentionally, as was the case with both Angie (Text 2.4) and Sandy's sister (Text 3.3), or unintentionally, as with Sandy (Text 3.3) and Maggie (Text 4.4). The result of hiding involves conflict among certain *Discourses* (Gee, 1992) or social identities in which the Chinese-Vietnamese must function. Moreover, this internal conflict of identity was most acute in Chinese- and mixed-dominant participants, who were most able to interact with fewer linguistic barriers in the social context of the San Gabriel Valley.

The shift toward a stronger Cantonese/Chinese-based identity among some participants' families and the continued, or even increased, reliance on Vietnamese language networks by other participants' families were two of the primary strategies or means through which Chinese-Vietnamese participants sought to resolve the internal and external conflict that they faced. But as Gee (1996) argued with regards to underlying narrative conflict, one aspect of Chinese-Vietnamese identity may appear to "win out" in a particular context and subordinate the other, but the underlying contradiction in the individual's life story yet remained.

Given the conflict associated with ethnic identity, and language use as an acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), it is no wonder that multilingualism was generally seen as good in the context of the San Gabriel Valley, but the usefulness of knowing multiple languages was constrained by the social context. For example, Angie contrasted the prevailing positive attitude toward multilingualism in the San Gabriel

Valley with her experiences in Arizona where, "even though …how many languages you speak, they don't care" (Text 2.2: ll. 17-18). But Angie was unable to see a concrete benefit of multilingualism in her own life since coming to the San Gabriel Valley. Conversely, in Text 4.3, Maggie saw the benefit of multilingualism in the context of helping newcomers to the U.S., as she had done in her high school and as had been done for her prior to that. Indeed, Maggie had among the most adaptable of identities and throughout the interview demonstrated her ability to form new and different kinds of relationships. In fact, Maggie noted that she tried to change social contexts every year to two years in order to form new circles of relationships. With respect to her lateral social mobility and ability to utilize her multilingual abilities, Maggie was unique among the interview participants.

Learning and using English were not a major focus in the interviews or the language background survey, following the caution by Nicholas (1994) that the inclusion of discussions of English could lead participants to believe that the interview embodied an underlying agenda other than understanding the multiple languages and identities of the participants. Similarly, use of languages other than English were foregrounded particularly because certain Chinese languages and spoken forms of other languages are stigmatized in the social context. This was particularly important given that the social context of the interviews were shaped by the previously-established relationship of ESL teacher-student.

Nevertheless, some participants did discuss their experiences of learning and using English. Angie, for example, who never attended ESL classes during her entire primary and secondary education, found that school was an ineffective place to learn English, but that English was the only permissible language in the social context of

Arizona, where she spent her first two years in the U.S. Instead, Angie was able to acquire the English that she needed through the intervention of several important individuals—her aunt and a person from a church—but more importantly through her own agency. In this respect, Angie was similar to Sandy, for whom learning English involved the manipulation of social contexts to gain increased access to English, language acquisition took place most naturally outside of class in the context of particular social relations, as was discussed in connection with Texts 3.1 and 3.5. However, Sandy wished that she had been born in the U.S. (see Text 3.4) because she was not fluent in English, and felt a particular lack in the area of English grammar and pronunciation. Given her understanding that language learning most effectively took place in the context of social relationships, Sandy's wish also points to her own isolation from fluent models of spoken and written English. The underlying belief was that she could never become fluent in English because she was not born in the U.S. The basic determinism of Sandy's view of language was also a part of Binh's narrative of education in Text 1.3. For Binh, the task of "getting his English up" was a prerequisite for further educational pursuits, but as with Sandy, Binh did not view school as a particularly effective place to learn. Consequently, Binh was very pessimistic with regards to his ability to "get his education up." In short, unlike Angie, who learned English in an English-dominant context in Arizona, both Binh and Sandy faced the task of learning English in one of the least effective places, school. While personal initiative might overcome barriers to learning to some degree, as Angie and Sandy believe, Sandy and Binh viewed the task of becoming fluent to be beyond their grasp.

In their narratives, the ability to use English was not only related to "getting one's education up," but it was also related with shifting social identities. This was particularly true of identities in Vietnamese language networks. For example, in Text 4.4a, Maggie discussed her own lack of fluency in Vietnamese and how the frequent corrections by her Vietnamese-speaking peers. However, when she shifted into English, in which she was more fluent than they were, she gained a kind of social advantage, balancing her fluency in English with their fluency in Vietnamese. Here, language was clearly related to power relations in the classroom. Similarly, Nghiep described his use of English and Vietnamese with peers. As noted above, while Nghiep was able to use English in class with his Vietnamese-speaking peers, to force shifts in language usage outside of class would lead to a lack of social harmony, and more than likely a major loss of face, among his Vietnamese-speaking peers. More often than not, the shift to English was perceived as a speaker's wanting to make himself seem "better" than the group, thus positioning himself as an outsider. Among the interview participants, only Maggie and Sandy took this position, by changing social contexts and hiding their Vietnamese identities.

Language in the Margins

In the preceding discussion, I suggested that the Chinese-Vietnamese are a marginalized group in the context of the San Gabriel Valley, participating in three different social, cultural, and economic settings—the San Gabriel Valley Chinese *ethnoburb*, Vietnamese language networks, and dominant American culture (primarily through schools)—only by negating some aspect of their own identities. While the multilingualism of the Chinese-Vietnamese provides limited access in various social settings, other social and historical factors block full access. In other words, language in a metaphorical sense is able to bring the Chinese-Vietnamese community to the borders of participation in Chinese, Vietnamese, and English language settings, but it is not able to empower them to become full participants, or "citizens," in these contexts. This contradicts the belief that acquiring language is a *key* or *tool* that provides access to social benefits, a belief held both by Chinese-Vietnamese community members, who were willing to invest substantial amounts of money to insure in Chinese schools and Chinese media resources, but by dominant American society as well, with respect to English.

Implications for the Educational Context

This study has a number of implications for the specific educational context in which the research was framed. The first question to which this question addressed itself was one of identification. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the problem of identification is particularly problematic for ethnolinguistic minority populations like the Chinese-Vietnamese, who ethnic identity shifts in different settings. For example, depending on language dominance and cultural orientation, a Chinese-Vietnamese individual may report themselves as "Vietnamese," or "Chinese," or they may decline to state their ethnicity or nationality assuming that the person requesting the information will not understand their history. Many policy decisions are made, however, on the basis of data on race and ethnicity. Of particular concern are funding and programs that target "at-risk" minority communities. Clearly, the Chinese-Vietnamese are an "at-risk" community who can not be identified apart from some measure of their ethnolinguistic background.

The educational context also provides no formal point of connection with the institution or groups within the institution. For example, while the college offers

Mandarin as a "foreign" language, the content and curriculum represent the political, historical, and social orientations of dominant Chinese culture emanating from Taiwan and China, which, as discussed above, often exclude Chinese-Vietnamese, particularly those like Linh, who are uncertain about their Chinese ethnicity. Similarly, less formal social organizations like "Chinese Student Association" (primarily Taiwanese), "Hong Kong Student Association," and "Vietnamese Student Association" are technically open for Chinese-Vietnamese to participate, but in reality reinforce the same social boundaries that many Chinese-Vietnamese students experienced in high school. Given the importance of social support structures for educational attainment, and the social isolation and marginalization experienced by the Chinese-Vietnamese, particular attention needs to be given to the development of learning support networks that are appropriate to the needs of Chinese-Vietnamese students.

Similarly, classrooms are not particularly "safe" environments for expressing Chinese-Vietnamese ethnic identity. Because of the relatively high concentration of Asian and Pacific Islanders at Pasadena City College, the "non-standard" Chinese and Vietnamese identities of the group open them to criticism by other higher status groups, which are able to lay claim to "official knowledge" based on their educational and social histories in their countries of origin. Consequently, the Chinese-Vietnamese face numerous difficulties in developing strong, integrated educational identities.

In addition, questions of "diversity" are an important part of the social discourse at a college where the majority—80%—of the students are Asian-, Latino, or African American. Nevertheless, discussions of diversity focus primarily on race, gender, and class, but leave unexamined language as an aspect of ethnicity. Interestingly, languages other than English are silenced in discussions of diversity.

However, this study highlights the fact that language is an important part of the social identity of at least one minority community, and therefore should enter in as a consideration in discussions of diversity and subsequent policy decisions.

Implications for the Social Context

Previous studies of the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles have focused on the effects of the growth of the Asian population, for example, on the social and political context of the city of Monterey Park (e.g., Fong, 1994), on inter- and intra-ethnic coalition building and conflict in Monterey Park (e.g., Horton, et al., 1995), and on the development of the Chinese *ethnoburb* in the San Gabriel Valley (Li, 1997, 1998). In these studies, group affiliation was determined primarily by ethnicity and class. Ethnicity is a fluid category in these studies, but the implication, particularly in Li and Horton, is that in situations of conflict, ethnicity takes precedence over divisions based on class. However, this current study calls into question the ways in which ethnicity is defined in the Chinese community. Much like Li Wei's study of language networks and Chinese language maintenance in the U.K., studies of the Chinese "community" in the San Gabriel Valley give superficial acknowledgement to divisions among Chinese groups but fail to explore these differences from a cultural anthropological approach. The result is an implied (false) consensus about Chinese culture, suggesting "we all know what Chinese means, and even if there are differences they don't matter as much as the dichotomy between Chinese and non-Chinese." For the Chinese-Vietnamese, however, popular definitions of Chinese-ness frequently exclude them from full participation in the social context.

In addition, given the narratives of conflict and coalition-building in the context of high schools in the San Gabriel Valley, further research needs to be done in the school setting to determine the processes involved in group formation and maintenance. Of particular concern are educational practices and policies that reinforce the polarized nature of social relations in the San Gabriel Valley.

Finally, this study shows that even though the levels of participation in Chinese schooling are uneven, the Chinese-Vietnamese place a value on Chinese education as a means of reclaiming their ethnic heritage. Consequently, the meaning of Chinese education is somewhat different for the Chinese-Vietnamese than for some other Chinese groups. Further research should address itself to the extent and nature of family participation in Chinese schooling, taking into account the various Chinese communities and language backgrounds, and to the relationship between private Chinese language education and educational attainment and aspirations in the public school context.

Directions for Further Study

This study points to the need expand the study of the sociolinguistics beyond models of *diglossia*/bilingualism to take into account multiple the multiple identities that speakers much manage and the complex process of language identity formation in multilingual communities. In addition, this study highlights the need for the meanings that ethnolinguistic minority groups like the Chinese-Vietnamese give to language, and the meanings of language development within a particular social context like the San Gabriel Valley region.

Second this dissertation brings into focus the need for further qualitative research into the relations of borderlands communities as a means of understanding their adaptation to a specific social context like the San Gabriel Valley region. More specifically, the Chinese-speaking and the non-Chinese speaking Vietnamese exhibited marked differences in residential patterns and in the acquisition of other languages, such as Spanish. What implications do these differences have for further participation in specific social and educational contexts? What do residential patterns and patterns of language acquisition show about the trajectory of adaptation and cultural development in urban educational settings?

Finally, language has been downplayed as a factor in Asian American ethnic community formation. The traditional assumption has been that language declines in importance as a feature of ethnicity; however, this may not be true for emerging ethnic groupings like the San Gabriel Valley ethnoburb. New forms of transnational economic and cultural connections may create new patterns of ethnic and political affiliations. The relationship of ethnicity, class, culture (including language, and political orientation—new types of subjectivities and modernities—require further study. The importance of language in this context of change needs to be re-examined.

Appendix A

Asian & Pacific Island Students in ESL Classes At Pasadena City College: A Report On the PRO-ESL Survey

Executive Summary

Russell Frank
PCC Department of English and Foreign Languages
and UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Science

1.0 Asian and Pacific Island Students (APIs) at Pasadena City College (PCC)

APIs are a diverse group of ethnicities and make up one of the fast growing ethnic categories in the US and particularly in California, where 40% of APIs in the US reside and where the group make up 10% of the state's population. Certain regions of the state, such as the western San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles County, have been particularly affected by the post-1965 influx of API immigrants. Large numbers of Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, mailnland China, and Southeast Asia have settled in mosaic patterns in the already-diverse region.

Situated within the western San Gabriel Valley region, PCC has been dramatically affected by API immigration. Between Fall 1987 and Fall 1993 the percentage of APIs at PCC grew approximately 67% and APIs became the largest ethnic grouping in credit classes at the college and the second-largest grouping in all classes at the college, comprising slightly more than one-third of all students.

2.0 The ESL Program at PCC and the PRO-ESL Survey

Begun in 1956 to serve international students attending PCC, the number of ESL courses offered grew from 9 in 1976 to 35 in 1984 to more than 70 classes in Fall 1994, which served approximately 1500 students. Growth in the early- to mid-1980s was fueled by two main factors: an influx of students from the Middle East and the flood of Vietnamese refugees. As early as 1982, students born in Vietnam formed the largest group of ESL students at PCC. Later Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the PRC bolstered the number of students in ESL classes at PCC.

The ESL classes in the English and Foreign Language Department at PCC are currently divided into five main levels: ESL 420 (high beginning), ESL 422 (low intermediate), ESL 122 (high intermediate), ESL 33A (low advanced), and ESL 33B (advanced). The latter two classes are transferrable to the UC and CSU systems. All courses focus on academic writing, reading and grammar skills. Limited attention is paid to speaking and listening skills at the lowest levels.

As of Fall 1994, there were nine full-time (contract) ESL instructors, in addition to seven contract instructors from English and Foreign Languages sections and the Communications Department. In addition, there were 22 part-time instructors.

In Fall 1994, the ESL section began a state-mandated process of program review. In part to supply data for the review process, two ESL faculty, in consultation with other faculty and staff, undertook the writing and piloting of a survey which had three primary goals: to elicit linguistic and social demographic information, to elicit student feedback on the perceived effectiveness of the ESL program, and to identify potential academic at-risk populations. A pilot of the survey instrument was administered to four sections at three levels of the ESL program. After modifications were made to the instrument, it was administered to students in 61 sections at all levels of the ESL program. An additional five sections of "Freshman Composition" with an ESL support course were also surveyed. A total of 1201 students were surveyed. The survey was administered by nine faculty facilitators, who had undergone a one-hour orientation. No faculty member administered the survey to his or her own class. Students recorded their responses on scantron forms, and the data was tabulated by computer at the campus research unit.

3.0 Major Findings

- APIs account for 83% of the students surveyed, with four coutries or regions of origin—Vietnam (n=415), Taiwan (n=138), mainland China (n=126), and Hong Kong (n=104)—comprising more than two-thirds of those surveyed.
- Cantonese was the most widely spoken home language/dialect, followed by Vietnamese, Mandarin, and other Chinese dialects.
- Approximately 70% of those surveyed rate their reading ability in either Chinese or Vietnamese as good or fair.
- Nearly three-fourths of those surveyed were either permanent residents or citizens; about one in five are visa students. Slightly more than one third have been in the US for two years or fewer and one third for five years or more.
- Most students are under age 24, with the largest grouping of students being females in the 18- to 24-year-old range. Approximately two thirds of those surveyed were females, and one third males. The differences were most pronounced in those over thirty years old.
- 42% of the students report having attended a high school in the US, and 41% an adult school, with minimal overlap between the two groups. Almost 30% of the students attended local high schools, with three in the Alhambra School District—Alhambra High School, San Gabriel High School, and Mark Keppel High School topping the list.
- Slightly under two thirds of the students plan to transfer to four-year colleges or universities, while one in six is in a vocational certificate or degree program. The top majors are Business or Accounting (34%), Computer Science/Math/Engineering (16%), Nursing/Life Sciences/Allied Health (15%). Nearly 16% of the students note that their majors are undecided.
- Among the top five groups—the top two being Chinese students born in Vietnam and ethnic Vietnamese students—there are significantly different patterns of enrollment in ESL classes. Students born in Vietnam are represented in larger numbers at the lower levels and much lower numbers at the higher levels in the ESL program, in contrast to other groups which are represented in larger numbers at the higher levels of the program and relatively low numbers at the lower levels of the program.
- Chinese-speaking students born in Vietnam tend to demonstrate a number of factors—among others, higher rates of failing class, lower GPAs, persistence in ESL classes in spite of having been in the US longer than other groups, probable low SES—which may put many of them at risk academically.
- Students from China and some students from Taiwan—younger students who attended American high school but who don't live with their parents—tend to have the fewest native speaking friends and seem to be the most isolated from mainstream culture.

3.1 *Survey Results: Demographics*

Country of Birth: Asian & Pacific Islanders accounted for 83% of all students in the program, with two-thirds coming from four countries of origin: Vietnam, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong.

Table 1: Top 10 Countries of Birth		n	%
1.	Vietnam	415	35
2.	Taiwan	138	12
3.	China (PRC)	126	11
4.	Hong Kong	104	9
5.	Indonesia	65	5
6.	Korea	44	4
7.	Mexico	37	3
8.	Armenia	36	3
9.	Japan	36	3
10.	Iran	23	2
Total Top 10		1024	85%

Spoken Languages: Various dialects of Chinese as well as Vietnamese are the most widely spoken languages. When adjusted to include only home languages, that is languages spoken with family members, the most widely spoken language among students taking ESL classes at PCC is Cantonese, followed by Vietnamese, Mandarin, and other Chinese dialects.

Table 2: Top 10 *Spoken* Languages		n (N=1201)	%	Adjust. %*
1.	Chinese–Mandarin	535	45	26
2.	Chinese–Cantonese	439	37	30
3.	Vietnamese	414	35	29
4.	Chinese–Other Dialects	338	28	22
5.	Spanish / Portuguese	149	13	9
6.	Japanese	94	8	4
7.	Armenian	92	8	7
8.	Indonesian/Malaysian	88	7	5
9.	Other Languages	85	7	4
10.	Korean	62	5	5

* To approximate the number of speakers of a given language or dialect for whom it is a "home language" or dialect, r only respondents who reported that the language is spoken family members have been counted

Table 3: Top 10 Languages Students Are Able to Read		n (N=1201)	%	% Read Good/Fair
1.	Chinese	576	49.2	40.0
2.	Vietnamese	382	32.8	29.4
3.	Spanish / Portuguese	178	13.9	8.8
4.	Japanese	112	9.6	4.1
5.	Armenian	106	9.1	6.7
6.	Other Languages	85	8.9	6.3
7.	Indonesian/Malaysian	84	7.5	6.1
8.	Korean	61	5.8	4.4
9.	Thai/Burmese/Cambodian/Laotian	38	3.6	1.9
10.	Tagalog	36	3.4	2.6

Residency: Almost three-fourths of the students are permanent residents (60%) or US citizens (11%); F–1 visa students make up 18% of those surveyed. In addition, most of the students have been in the US for four years or fewer, with 12% having been in the US less than one year, 25% 1 to 2 years, 31% 3 to 4 years, 15% five to six years and 18% more than 6 years.

Age & Gender: Most of the students surveyed are traditional college-age students, under age 24 (62%); however, nearly one-fifth of the students are over age thirty. In terms of gender, the breakdown is 63% female to 37% male. The largest single grouping of students is female students in the 18 to 24 year old range, which accounts for 37% of the students surveyed. Males in that same age range account for 25% of all those surveyed. A substantial difference is found between males and females in the over 30 age bracket, with nearly three times as many females over age thirty (n=172, or 14%) as males in the same age bracket (n=56, or 5%).

Educational Background: In terms of education outside the US, the highest level attended for most of the students surveyed was high school (55%). In addition, 6% of the students report only having attended schools in the US, 10% last attended primary school, 7% trade or vocational school, and 24% report having attended college or university in another country. In terms of English language training prior to coming to the US, students seem to be split between those having receive three or more years, who make up 51% of those surveyed, while students with 2 or fewer years make up 49%. In fact, roughly equal numbers of students studied less than 1 year (31%) and more than 5 years (33%).

In the US, more than two-thirds of the students report having attended US schools for 2 years or fewer (69%), with another 19% having attended 3 to 4 years, 7% 5 to 6 years, and 6% six or more years. 42% of all students report having attended high school in the US, with most attending local high schools (29%). In addition, 41% of the students report having attended adult school. Approximately 9% of the students have attended both high school and adult school in the US. 28% report having attended another college or university, 29% junior high school, and 19% elementary school. However, the latter two numbers include a significantly large error; when cross-referenced with the number of years of US education, the percentages are more likely closer to 10% attending junior high school and 6% attending elementary school in the U.S.

Table 4: Last High School Attended	n	%
Local High School (Top 5)	343 (220)	29 (18.3)
1. Alhambra H.S.	61	5.1
2. San Gabriel H.S.	55	4.6
3. Mark Kepple H.S.	45	3.7
4. Rosemead H.S.	30	2.5
5. Arcadia H.S.	28	2.4
6. Franklin (LA) HS	15	1.3
7. Lincoln HS	15	1.3
8. Blair HS	13	1.1
9. Community Skills Center	10	0.8
10. Woodrow Wilson HS	10	0.8

Other US High School	139	12
Foreign High School	701	58

PCC Matriculation: The largest number of students in the program are full-time students who intend to transfer to a four-year college or university (45%). An additional 14% intend to transfer but are part-time students. Overall 62% of the students attend PCC full time, and an additional 29% are taking more than one class. Most of the students intend to transfer (62%), but 16% are plan to get a vocational degree or certificate and another 14% attend for personal reasons. The most common majors among those surveyed Business or Accounting (34%), Computer Science/Math/Engineering (16%), Nursing/Life Sciences/Allied Health (15%). In addition nearly 16% of the students note that their majors are undecided. The largest percentage of those students who indicate that their major is undecided plan to transfer to a four-year college or university (41%).

PCC ESL Classes: Most of the students surveyed are in the highest levels of the ESL program: ESL 33B (33%), ESL 33A (27%), ESL 122 (19%), ESL 422 (9%), and ESL 420 (6%). Also, students enrolled in ENGL 1A/ESL 150 make up an additional 6% of those surveyed. Of all students in the survey, 31% have taken ESL 422 at some point in time, 46% have taken ESL 122, 58% ESL 33A and 39% ESL 33B.

4.0 Trends & Analyses:

Approximately 70% of the students in the survey appear to be ethnically Chinese or Vietnamese.

Chinese from Vietnam: A Population at Risk? Students born in Vietnam who speak Cantonese or another Chinese dialects as home languages constitute 18% of students in PCC ESL classes. They tend to be young—nearly three-fourths are age 24 or younger—yet those students under the age of 24 tend to have been in the US for a relatively long time—96% have been in the US for more than 3 years and two-thirds for five or more years. This group is most likely made up of refugees and children of refugees.

Two-thirds of the 18 to 24-year-old group last attended high school in the U.S., mostly local high schools. In fact, Chinese Vietnamese make up nearly one third of the total students in the program who come from US high schools and nearly one-half of the students coming from local high schools. In addition, more than one fourth attended schools in the U.S. for five or more years before attending PCC. almost 60% attended three or more years. Moreover, more than one third of this group —36.4%— report having received the most years of education in the U.S., as compared to 56% in Vietnam, and a total of 6.7% in a Chinese speaking country.

Table 5: Last High School Attended by Chinese-Vietnamese Students	n	%
Local High School (Top 5 Local High Schools)	115 (104)	54(47.5)
Alhambra H.S.	31	14.2
San Gabriel H.S.	28	12.8
Mark Kepple H.S.	22	10.0
Rosemead H.S.	14	6.4
Lincoln H.S.	9	4.1
Other US High School	27	13
Foreign High School	70	33

The Chinese-speaking Vietnamese tend to demonstrate unstable academic traits. While the largest number select business as their major(34.9%), approximately one out of five choose "undecided "as their major, a rate much higher than the population average. Half of the group state that their GPA at PCC is between 2.0 and 2.9, with a much lower percentage of students in the A to B range, and 8% with GPAs below 2.0. Again, the GPA average is lower than that for the general population. Approximately two-thirds of the group are full-time students.

Most of the Chinese-speakers from Vietnam have studied little or no English outside the United States, which in the literature suggests a risk factor. Slightly more than half have had less than one year of English outside the U.S., and about 78% have had two years or fewer. At PCC, this group tend to place into low intermediate or high intermediate level classes, ESL 422 or ESL 122, and only about one-fourth have taken the highest level ESL class, ESL 33B and less than one-third have taken ESL 33A. This rate is much lower than the overall rate in the survey, where one-third have taken ESL 33B and one-half have taken ESL 33A.

Perhaps more than any other factor, the socio-economic status of the Chinese-speaking Vietnamese place them at risk academically. Most of this group live with members of their nuclear family (84.8%), with four out of five living with their parents, half in a home where their parents do not work. Half of the students in this group have jobs (50.2%), and about one out of five work more than 20 hours per week. In addition, this group far more than any other group makes use of the Extended Opportunity Program and Services (43%) and a number participate in the college work/study program (13.3%). While the survey does not include items which directly measure SES, these data, combined with the longer period of residence of this group in the U.S., point to the relative lack of resources which this community has to promote their educational and economic development.

Students in Business: ESL students are concentrated in particular majors, and over one-third (34.4%) of the students surveyed have chosen Business or Accounting as their majors. Since the Business Department also offer language-related courses, specific outreach and collaboration between that department and ESL specialists might be beneficial.

Student Goals: While the majority of students plan to transfer to four-year colleges and universities, a large percentage are pursuing vocational or job-related skills (22%). Some programs such as Nursing and Allied Health Professions have concentrations of particular ESL groups. (For example, 22% of the ethnic Vietnamese students taking ESL classes stated that their major is Nursing/Allied Health/Life Sciences.) Further discussion is needed to determine whether the program has the responsibility to address the needs of students in particular vocational programs in a more direct, specific manner

Appendix B

Language Background Questionnaire

This questionnaire is a part of my Ph.D research at UCLA. It is completely voluntary and confidential. You do not need to put your name on this form, but you may do so if you want to. If you don't feel completely comfortable in answering a question, please skip it. I will also be interviewing as many participants as possible who meet certain criteria. At the end of this questionnaire, there is a place for you to indicate if you are willing to be interviewed.

1. Personal Background Questions

A. General Questions

Where do you live (city & zip code only) ____

In what year were you born? 19__ __

In what country & city (or region) were you born? ________________________________

In what year did you come to the U.S.? 19__ __

B. Schooling

In what country (or countries) did you attend ***elementary school*** ? How many years of elementary school did you have in each country that you listed? If you didn't attend elementary school in any country, please just write "***n/a***".

In what country (or countries) did you attend ***high school***? How many years of high school did you have in each country that you have listed? If you didn't attend high school in any country, please just write "***n/a***".

Have you ever attended a private school to learn a language to learn a language other than English (*e.g.*, Chinese school or Japanese school)? If so, in what country and city did you attend, and for how many years?

C. Family Background

In what country were your ***parents*** born?

What was the highest level of schooling your ***parents*** received?

In what language(s) were they educated?

What kind of job did your ***parents*** do for a living?

In what country were your ***grandparents*** born?

What was the highest level of schooling your ***grandparents*** received?

In what language(s) were they educated?

What kind of job did your ***grandparents*** do for a living?

2. Language & Dialect Use

A. Below please list *all* of the languages that you can speak. If you speak Chinese, please list the dialect name—e.g., Cantonese, Mandarin, Teochew, Fukkienese/Taiwanese/Minnanhua, Hakka, Hainanese, etc. (Feel free to write the dialect name in Chinese if you aren't sure) Also, please check the box that shows how well you can speak the language. Finally, circle the language that you speak the best.

	I know a few words	I can understand a little, but can't speak much	I can carry on a basic conversation	I am fluent in this language or dialect
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				
(6)				
(7)				

B. For each of the languages you listed above, please check all of the people with whom you speak this language. (These are the same as above)

	I speak it with my parents, brothers & sisters	I speak it with other family members	I speak it with friends & classmates	I speak it with people in my neighborhood	I speak it with boss / co-workers	I speak it with other people not listed here
(1)						
(2)						
(3)						
(4)						
(5)						
(6)						
(7)						

C. Below please list all of the languages that you can read. Also, please check the box that shows how well you can read the language.

	I can read a few words	I can read simple stories in this language	I can read most newspaper articles in this language	I can read high school or college level academic materials in this language
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				

Would you be willing to participate in a 45-minute interview to talk these and other language-related topics in detail? If so, please provide your name and telephone number below. Thank you for your willingness to help!

Name (Please Print): ______________________________

Telephone Number: ______________________________

Appendix C

Written Consent Form

Repositioned Lives: Language, Ethnicity, and Narrative Identity among Chinese-Vietnamese Community College Students in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley

To the Participants in the Study:

I am a Ph.D. student at UCLA. The subject of my doctoral research is: "Repositioned Lives: Language, Ethnicity and Narrative Identity among Chinese-Vietnamese Community College Students in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley." I am interviewing students who were born in Vietnam and use some kind of spoken Chinese in the home and/or other environments. You are one of about 30 to 40 participants.

As a part of this study, I am requesting of you to take part in a 45-minute- to one-hour-long interview, and possibly a follow-up interview. This interview will focus on your language-related experiences both before you came to the U.S. as well as after you came here.

My goal is to analyze the materials from your interviews in order to understand better your experience and those of other Chinese-speaking people from Vietnam who have moved into this area. I am interested in the concrete details of your life story, in what it is like to come from Vietnam and eventually settle in an area where many of the people around you are Chinese and where you have to function in another language, English. As part of the dissertation, I may compose the materials from your interviews as a "profile" in your words. I may also wish to use some of the interview material for journal articles or presentations to interested groups, or for instructional purposes in my teaching. I may wish to write a book based on the dissertation.

Each interview will be tape recorded, and parts of it will later be transcribed. I will not use your name or the names of people close to you in all written materials and oral presentations in which I might use materials from your interview. Transcripts will be typed with initials for names, and in final form, the interview material will use pseudonyms.

You may withdraw from the interview process at any time. You may stop me from using information from the interview(s), if you notify me within two weeks after the interview. If I choose to use any additional materials, I will ask for your additional written consent.

In signing this form, you are also assuring me that you will make no financial claims for the use of the material in your interviews; you are also stating that no medical treatment will be required by you from UCLA if any physical injury should result from participating in these interviews.

I, ________________________________ have read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated above.

____
Signature of the Participant

________________________________ ________________________________
Signature of interviewer Date

Appendix D

Chinese-Vietnamese: Interview Schedule

History-giving Questions

- What do you remember about life in Vietnam? What was it like for your family? [father a detainee?]
- Why did your family decide to leave VN? What was that like for you?
  How old were you when you left ? What year was that?
- Did you go to a refugee camp? Where? How long were you there? Was that a significant experience for you? In what way?
- When you came to the U.S., did you come to CA directly or were you settled somewhere else? Where? When did you come to LA/CA? Why? Where do you live now? What do you like about living in X? Is there anything you don't like?

Language Abilities

- I see that you can speak [Cantonese, Mandarin, Teochew, Hokkien, Hakka…], and that you use it with [family, friends/classmates, neighbors, co-workers/boss, others?].
- [If applicable] How did you learn to read and write Chinese? Was that a good experience for you? What do you remember about going to Chinese school?
- How does your family feel about maintaining the ability to speak [Chinese dialect]? Why is that?
- You also speak VNese with [family, friends/classmates, neighbors, co-workers/boss, others?]
- [If applicable] Did you learn to read and write VNese in school in VN?
- Do either of your parents read/write Chinese? How did they learn? Were they born in VN? When did your family go to VN?

Linguistic Networks

- *Family:* Do most of your family members live in the area? When you talk with (get together with) your brothers/sisters, what languages do you usually speak? How about your aunts/uncles/cousins/grandparents?
- Friends: Are most of your friends originally from Vietnam? Do they speak Chinese? When you get together with your friends to hang out, what language do you usually speak? Do you tend to use different languages with different friends? Tell me about your friends you speak [Chinese] with. How are they different from friends you speak Vietnamese with?

  Have you ever had any good friends from Hong Kong, China, or Taiwan? How would you compare those friends with your Vietnamese friends?

Occupational Experiences and Aspirations

- *Work*: Do you have a job off campus? Where do you work? What language do you usually use at work? (with the boss? with co-workers? with customers?)
- *School*: Here at PCC, what language do you usually use when you're not in class?

Linguistic Insecurity

- Have you ever had an experience in Chinese that made you feel uncomfortable or insecure? Can you tell me about a specific incident?
- Can you remember a time when you felt "less Chinese" (or like a second-class Chinese person) because you may not have been able to read and write Chinese well enough? Tell me about it.
- Has there ever been a time when someone treated you differently because you couldn't speak Mandarin well enough? What happened?
- Has anyone ever commented on your accent when you're speaking Chinese? Can you tell me about a particular time when someone commented on your spoken Chinese?
- Have you ever been in a situation where you felt good about speaking Chinese? (Vietnamese?) Tell me about it.
- Would you say that your ability to read/write/speak Chinese has gotten better or worse since you moved to [Monterey Park]? Can you give me an example to show me what you mean?

Beliefs & Motivation

- How have you felt about your own experience here; do you think learning to read/write Chinese better has helped you in any way (e.g., getting a better job, doing better in school, etc.)? Has there been a real situation when it has made a difference?

<OR>

How have you felt about your own experience here; do you think not knowing how to read/write Chinese well enough has hurt you in any way (e.g., getting a better job, doing better in school, etc.)? Has there been a real situation when it has made a difference?

- Do you think it's important for your younger brothers/sisters/cousins/nephews & nieces to learn to read and write Chinese? If so, why?
- Do you think the schools here should help them learn Chinese, or should learning Chinese be the responsibility of the families? Why?
- How did you learn English? What do you remember most about your English classes in elementary & high school? What did you get out of them?
- Would you say that these courses would be useful for most Chinese/Vietnamese students?
- Do you think your younger brothers/sisters/cousins/nephews & nieces will face the same kinds of problems in school that you faced? Can you give me an example that shows me why you think that way?

Appendix E

Tape #: ________________ Report Date: ________________________

Interview #: ____________ Interviewer: ______________________

Chinese-Vietnamese Interview Report

1. Interview Date: ____________ Time: _______
   Length (min): Side A: ____________ Side B: ____________

2. Participant's Name: ____
   City & Zip: ____
   Telephone #: __________________________
   Sex: ____________ Age: ____________
   Dialects & Languages: ____
   Attitude of Subject: ____

3. **Timelines**

*Vietnam —>U.S.*____

____

School/Work: ____

____

Language Study: ____

____

4. **Interview Site:** ____

Others present: ____

5. **Interview:** initial—follow-up complete—incomplete

notes: ____

good sections: ____

____

6. Comments:

Appendix F

Cities in the Western San Gabriel Valley in which Asian Pacific Americans Form the Largest Ethnic Grouping

City	Number of APAs in 1990 Census	1990 % of Total Population	% Change 1980–1990
Monterey Park	34,022	56%	91%
Alhambra	30,715	37%	289%

Cities in the Western San Gabriel Valley in which Asian and Pacific Americans Constitute More Than Ten Percent of the Total Population

City	1990 APA Population	% of 1990 Total Population	% Change 1980–1990
Rosemead	17,316	34%	371%
San Gabriel	11,830	32%	372%
San Marino	4,166	32%	371%
South San Gabriel	2,496	32%	250%
Arcadia	11,175	23%	543%
East San Gabriel	2,928	23%	n/a
South Pasadena	5,002	21%	98%
Temple City	5,991	19%	313%
East Pasadena	900	15%	n/a
North El Monte	400	12%	n/a
El Monte	11,846	11%	456%
Duarte	2,268	11%	211%
Pasadena*	10,171	8%	74%

---

* Adapted from 1990 Census Data Presented in the *Los Angeles Times*, San Gabriel Valley Edition, 26 October 1992.

Appendix G

Distribution of Chinese in South Vietnam, by Speech Group

(thousands and percentages)

	1924		1950		1974	1989
Speech group	No.	%	No.	%	(%)	(%)
Cantonese	80	35	337	45	60	56.5
Teochew	50	22	225	30	20	34.0
Hakka	15	7	75	10	6	1.5
Fukkien	55	24	60	8	7	6.0
Hainanese	15	7	30	4	7	2.0
Others	11	5	—	3	—	—

Primary areas of Economic Concentration Prior to 1975:

Cantonese:	Rice trade; manufacturing of metal consumer and household goods; banking; rubber processing.
Teochew:	Rice trading and handicraft; laborers; porters; petty tradesmen.
Hakka:	Handicraft.
Fukienese:	Trading; import and export; building ships and ocean shipping; intermediary business; running hotels and restaurants; manufacturing rubber products; owned the majority of large businesses.
Hainanese:	Fishermen; plantation workers.

Source: Tran (1993: 30-1).

References

Aames, Jacqueline. 1977. Indochinese refugee self-sufficiency in California: a survey and analysis of the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Lao and the agencies that serve them. Report submitted to the. Sacramento: California State Department of Health.

Agar, Michael H. 1996. *The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography.* New York: Academic Press.

Agar, Michael H., and J. R. Hobbs.1982. Interpreting discourse: coherence and the analysis of ethnographic interviews. *Discourse Processes, 5:* 1-32.

Alladina, Safder. 1985. Research methodology for language use surveys in Britain. In P. H. Nelde (ed.), *Methoden der Kontaktlinguistik* (pp. 233-240). Bonn: Dummler.

Alladina, Safder and Viv Edwards. 1991. *Multilingualism in the British Isles.* London: Longman.

Ang, Ien. 1993. To be or not to be Chinese: diaspora, culture, and postmodern ethnicity. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 21 (1): 1-17.

Ang, Ien. 1994. On not speaking Chinese: postmodern ethnicity and the politics of diaspora. *New Formations* 24.

Atkinson, Paul, Brian Davies, Sara Delamont, and Basil B. Bernstein. 1994. *Discourse and reproduction: essays in honor of Basil Bernstein.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Bach, Robert L., Linda W. Gordon, David W. Haines, and David R. Howell. 1984. The economic adjustment of Southeast Asia refugees in the United States. *World Refugee Survey, 1983*: 51-55. Geneva: United States High Commission for Refugees.

Barthes, Roland. 1974. *Introduction to the structural analysis of the narrative* (R. Miller, Trans.). New York, Hill and Wang.

Barton, Clifton A. 1983. Trust and credit: some observations regarding business strategies of overseas Chinese traders in South Vietnam. In L. A. Peter Gosling and Linda Y. C. Lim (Eds.), *The Chinese in Southeast Asia, volume 1: ethnicity and economic activity* (pp. 46-64). Singapore: Maruzen Asia.

Bernard, H. Russell. 1994. *Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bernard, William S. 1977. Immigrants and refugees: their similarities, differences, and needs. *International Migration 14* (4):267-281.

Bernstein, Basil. 1971. *Class, codes, and control.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, Basil. 1975. *Pedagogy, symbolic control, and identity: theory, research, critique.* London: Taylor and Francis.

Bhavani, Kum-Kum. 1991. *Talking politics: a psychological framing for views from working class youth in Britain.* Cambridge University Press.

Bogdan, Robert C., and Sari Knopp Biklen. 1992. *Qualitative research for education: an introduction to theory and methods.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Boissevain, Jeremy. 1974. *Friends of friends: networks, manipulators, and coalitions.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977a. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information* 16: 645-668.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977b. *Outline of a theory of practice.* R. Nice (*Trans.*). Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1983. The field of cultural production, or: the economic world revisited. *Poetics* (12): 311-356.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-58). New York. Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power.* Edited and introduced by J. B. Thompson; translated by G. Raymond and M. Adamson. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and J. C. Passerson. 1977. *Reproduction in education, society, and culture.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bourhis, Richard Y. 1979. Language in ethnic interaction: a social psychological approach. In: Howard Giles and Bernard St. Jacques (Eds.), *Language and ethnic relations* (pp. 117-141.). Oxford: Pergamon.

Brannen, Julia (Ed.). 1992. *Mixing methods: qualitative and quantitative research.* Aldershot: Avebury.

Briggs, Charles L. 1986. *Learning how to ask: a sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Gillian and George Yule. 1983. *Discourse analysis.* Cambridge University Press.

Brown, M. J. (Ed.). 1996. Negotiating ethnicities in China and Taiwan. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies.

Bruner, Jerome S. 1986. *Actual minds, possible worlds.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. 1990. *Acts of meaning.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Jerome S. 1994. The 'remembered" self. In U. Neisser & R. Fivush (Eds.), *The remembering self: construction and accuracy in the self-narrative* (pp. 41-54). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bryman, Alan. 1988. *Quantity and quality in social research.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Calderón, José. 1990. Latinos and ethnic conflict in suburbia: the case of Monterey Park. *Latino Studies Journal 1* (May): 23-32.

Cameron, Deborah, Elizabeth Frazer, Penelope Harvey, M.B.H. Rampton and Kay Richardson. 1992. *Researching language: issues of power and method.* New York: Routledge.

Caplan, Nathan, Marcella H. Choy, and John K. Whitmore. 1991. *Children of the boat people: a study of educational success.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Caplan, Nathan, John K. Whitmore, and Quang Bui. 1985. *Southeast Asian refugee self-sufficiency study: final report.* Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research.

Chafe, Wallace L. (Ed.) 1980. *The pear stories: cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: the flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chase, S.E. 1995. Taking narrative seriously: consequences for method and theory in interview studies. In Ruthellen Josselson and Amia Lieblich (Eds), *Interpreting experience: the narrative study of lives.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Chen, Hsiang-Shui. 1992. *Chinatown no more: Taiwan immigrants in contemporary New York.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Chen, King C. 1987. *China's war with Vietnam, 1979: issues, decisions, and implications.* Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

Cheng, Lucie and Philip Q. Yang. 1996. Asians: the "model minority" deconstructed. In Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (Eds.), *Ethnic Los Angeles* (pp. 305-344). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Chirban, John T. 1996. *Interviewing in depth: the interactive-relational approach.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Chung, Chuong Hoang. 1988. The language situation of Vietnamese Americans. In Sandra Lee McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (Eds.), *Language diversity: Problem or resource? A social and educational perspective on language minorities in the U.S.* New York: Newbury House.

Clark, A. J., & Elliot G. Mishler. 1992. Attending to patients' stories: reframing the clinical task. *Sociology of health and illness 14* (3): 344-372.

Clark, William A. 1996. Residential patterns: avoidance, assimilation, and succession. In Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (Eds.), *Ethnic Los Angeles* (pp. 109-138). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Clegg, Stewart R. 1993. Narrative, power, and social theory. In Dennis K. Mumby (Ed.), *Narrative and social control: critical perspectives* (pp. 15-48). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The predicament of culture: twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James. 1992. Traveling cultures. In Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (Eds.), *Cultural studies* (pp. 96-116). New York: Routledge.

Clifford, James. 1995. Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 302-338.

Collier, Virginia P. 1987. Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly*, 21: 617-641.

Collier, Virginia P. 1989. How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in second language. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23: 509-531.

Collier, Virginia P. 1992. A synthesis of studies examining long-term language minority student data on academic achievement. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 16 (1-2): 187-212.

Collier, Virginia P. 1995. Acquiring a second language for school. National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 16 (1-2): 187-212.

Conklin, N. F., & Lourie, M.A. 1983. *A host of tongues: Language communities in the United States.* New York: The Free Press.

Constable, Nicole. 1996. *Guest people : Hakka identity in China and abroad.* Studies on ethnic groups in China. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny, and John Gumperz. 1992. Changing views of language in education: the implications for literacy research. In R. Beach, J. Green, M. Kamil and T. Shannahan (Eds.), *Culture and power in the classroom.* New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Coulmas, Florian. 1992. *Language and economy.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Press.

Crawford, James. 1992. *Hold your tongue: bilingualism and the politics of "English Only."* New York: Addison-Wesley.

Cummins, James. 1982. *Mother tongue maintenance for minority language children: some common misconceptions.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Cushman, Jennifer, and Wang Gungwu. 1988. *Changing identities of Southeast Asian Chinese since World War II.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Debre, F. 1976. *Les Chinois de la diaspora.* Paris: Olivier Orban.

Desbarats, Jacqueline. 1986. Ethnic differences in adaptation: Sino-Vietnamese refugees in the United States. *International Migration Review 20 (2):* 405-427.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1981. *Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1982. Defining the speech community to include its working margins. In S. Romaine (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities* (pp. 25-33). London: Edward Arnold.

Dorian, Nancy C. (Ed.). 1992. *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duiker, William J. 1989. *Vietnam since the fall of Saigon.* Monographs in International Studies, Ohio University Press.

Edwards, John. 1985. *Language, society, and identity.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Edwards, John. 1995. *Multilingualism.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Egan-Robertson, Ann, and David Bloome (Eds.). 1997. *Students as researchers of culture and language in their own communities.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Espiritu, Yen, and Ong, Paul, 1994. Class constraints on racial solidarity among Asian Americans. In: Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng (Eds.), *The new Asian immigration in Los Angeles and global restructuring* (pp. 293-321). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Espiritu, Yen Le. 1992. *Asian American panethnicity: bridging institutions and identities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power.* New York: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman (Ed.). 1992. *Critical language awareness.* New York: Longman.

Fasold, Ralph W. 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Featherstone, Mike. 1990. Global culture: an introduction. *Theory, culture, & society* 7:1-14.

Fishman, Joshua A. (Ed.). 1966. *Language loyalty in the United States.* The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1989. *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Fong, Timothy. 1994. *The first suburban Chinatown: the remaking of Monterey Park, California.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *History of sexuality, vol. 1.* Translated by Michael Hurley. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Knowledge/Power: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977.* Edited and translated by Colin Gordin. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1982. *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language.* New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1991. Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality* (pp. 87-104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frank, Russell A. 1995a. Asian & Pacific Island students in ESL classes at Pasadena City College: Report on the PRO-ESL Survey. Unpublished manuscript submitted for Educ. 253G. Education Department, University of California, Los Angeles.

Frank, Russell A. 1995b. Literacy & language attitudes among Chinese Vietnamese in the Monterey Park area. Unpublished manuscript submitted for Chic. 165. Chicano Studies Department, University of California, Los Angeles.

Gal, Susan. 1979. *Language shift: social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Australia.* New York: Academic Press.

Gal, Susan. 1989. Language and political economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 345-367.

Gal, Susan. 1993. Diversity and contestation in linguistic ideologies: German speakers in Hungary. *Language in Society* 22: 337-359.

Gardner, Robert C. 1985. *Social psychology and second language learning: the role of attitudes and motivation. (The social psychology of language: 4).* Great Britain: Edward Arnold Ltd.

Gardner, Robert C., and Richard Clément. 1990. Social psychological perspectives on second language acquisition. In Howard Giles and W. Peter Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology.* New York: John Wiley and Sons: 495-517.

Gee, James Paul. 1985. The narrativization of experience in oral style. *Journal of Education, 167* (1): 9-35.

Gee, James Paul. 1986. Units in the production of narrative discourse. *Discourse processes, 9*: 391-422.

Gee, James Paul. 1991. A linguistic approach to narrative. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1* (1): 15-39.

Gee, James Paul. 1992. *The social mind: language, ideology, and social practice.* New York: Bergin & Garvey.

Gee, James Paul. 1993. Postmodernism, discourses, and linguistics. In Collin Lankshear and Peter McLaren (Eds.), *Critical literacy: radical and postmodernist perspectives* (pp. 271-295). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Gee, James Paul. 1996. *Social linguistics and literacies: ideology in discourses (2nd Ed.).* New York: The Falmer Press.

Gee, James Paul. 1997. Thematized echoes. *Journal of Narrative and Life History 7* (1-4): 189-197.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration.* Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1987. *Social theory and modern sociology.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and identity.* Stanford University Press.

Giles, Howard, and Nikolas Coupland. 1991. *Language: contexts and consequences.* Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Giles, Howard, and Ellen Bouchard Ryan. 1982. Prolegomena for developing a social psychological theory of language attitudes. In: Ellen Bouchard Ryan and Howard Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes toward language variation: social and applied contexts* (pp. 208-223). Great Britain: Edward Arnold.

Giroux, Henry A. 1992. *Border crossings: cultural workers and the politics of education.* New York: Routledge.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life.* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience.* New York: Harper and Row.

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gold, Steven J. 1992. *Refugee communities: a comparative field study.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gold, Steven J. 1994. Chinese-Vietnamese entrepreneurs in California. In: Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng (Eds.), *The new Asian immigration in Los Angeles and global restructuring* (pp. 196-226). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gold, Steven J., and Nazli Kibria. 1993. Vietnamese refugees and blocked mobility. *Asian and Pacific Migration Review 2* (1): 27-56.

Goldberg, Michael. 1985. *The Chinese connection.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Gordon, Milton M. 1964. *Assimilation in American life: the role of race, religion, and national origins.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gosling, L. A. Peter. 1983. Changing Chinese identities in Southeast Asia: an introductory review. In L. A. Peter Gosling and Linda Y. C. Lim (Eds.), *The Chinese in Southeast Asia, volume 2: identity, culture and politics.* Singapore: Maruzen Asia: 1-14.

Graddol, David, Janet Maybin, and Barry Stierer (Eds.). 1994. *Researching language and literacy in social context.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Grosjean, Francois. 1982. *Life with two languages.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gudykunst, William B., and Stella Ting-Toomey. 1990. Ethnic identity, language and communication breakdowns. In Howard Giles and W. Peter Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 309-327). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Gumperz, John J. 1982a. *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, John J. (Ed.). 1982b. *Language and social identity.* Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, John J. 1992. Contextualization and understanding. In Alessandro Duranti & Charles Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context* (pp. 229-252). Cambridge University Press.

Haines, David W. 1985. *Refugees in the United States: a reference handbook.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Haines, David W. (Ed.). 1989. *Refugees as immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield.

Hakuta, Kenji. 1986. *Mirror of language: the debate on bilingualism.* New York: Basic Books.

Hall, Stuart. 1991. The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity. In Anthony D. King (ed.), *Culture, globalization, and the world system: contemporary conditions for the representation of identity* (pp. 19-39). London: Macmillan.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English.* London: Longman.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1989. *Language, context, text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamers, Josiane, and Michel Blanc. 1989. *Bilinguality and bilingualism.* Cambridge University Press.

Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. 1995. *Ethnography: principles and practice (2nd ed.).* London: Tavistock.

Hanks, William F. 1996. *Language and communicative practices.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Harrell, Stevan. 1993. Linguistics and hegemony in China. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 104: 97-114.

Harrell, Stevan. 1999. The role of periphery in Chinese nationalism. In S.-M. Huang and C. K. Hsu (Ed.), *Imagining China: regional division and national unity* (pp. 133-160). Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academica Sinica.

Haugen, Einar. 1966. Dialect, language, and nation. *American Anthropologist 68*: 922-935.

Haugen, Einar. 1969. *The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Hawkins, Eric. 1984. *Awareness of language.* Cambridge University Press.

Heath, Shirley Brice. 1982. What no bedtime story ever means: narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society 11*: 49–76.

Heath, Shirley Brice. 1983. *Ways with words: language, life, and work in communities and classrooms.* Cambridge University Press.

Heath, Shirley Brice. 1986. Sociocultural contexts of language development. In Beyond language: *Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students* (pp. 143-186). Sacramento: California State Department of Education, Bilingual Education Office. Los Angeles: California State University, Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center.

Hein, Jeremy. 1995. *From Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia: a refugee experience in the United States.* Twayne Publishers.

Heller, Monica S. 1982. Negotiations of language choice in Montreal. In John J. Gumperz (Ed.), *Language and social identity* (pp.108-118). Cambridge University Press.

Henerson, Marlene E., Lynn L. Morris, and Carol T. Fitz-Gibbon. 1978. *How to measure attitudes.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Hing, Bill Ong. 1993. *Making and remaking Asian America through immigration policy, 1850-1990.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Horton, John. 1995. *The politics of diversity: immigration and resistance to change in Monterey Park California.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hunt, Matthew B. 1990. Narrative in mild and moderate dementia of the Alzheimer type. Unpublished master's screening paper. Linguistics department, University of Southern California.

Hymes, Dell. 1996. *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: toward an understanding of voice.* Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.

Ima, Kenji, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1989. Southeast Asian refugees in American schools: a comparison of fluent-English-proficient and limited-English-proficient students. *Topics in language disorders* 9 (3): 54-75.

Jefferson, Gail. 1979. Sequential aspects of storytelling in a conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational organization* (pp. 219-248). New York: Academic Press.

Johnson, Phyllis. 1988. The impact of ethnic communities on the employment of Southeast Asian refugees. *Amerasia Journal 14* (1):1-22.

Kelley, Gail P. 1986. Coping with America: refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in the 1970s and 1980s. *The Annals 487* (September): 138-149.

Kibria, Nazli. 1993. *Family tightrope: the changing lives of Vietnamese Americans.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kotkin, Joel. 1992. *Tribes: how race, religion, and identity determine success in the new global economy.* New York: Random House.

Kress, Gunther. 1985a. *Linguistic process in sociolinguistics practice.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kress, Gunther. 1985b. Ideological structures in discourse. In Teun A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis, volume 4: discourse analysis in society* (pp. 27-42). New York: Academic Press.

Labov, William. 1972. The transformation of experience in narrative syntax. In William Labov (Ed.), *Language in the inner city: studies in Black English vernacular* (pp. 354-396). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William. 1982. Speech actions and reactions in personal narrative. In Deborah Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing discourse: text and talk* (pp. 219-247). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Labov, William, and J. Waletzky. 1967. Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the verbal and visual arts* (pp. 12-44). Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Langellier, Kristin M. 1989. Personal narratives: Perspectives on theory and research. *Text and Performance Quarterly, 9* (4): 243-276.

Langellier, Kristin M., and Eric E. Peterson. 1993. Family storytelling as a strategy of social control. In Dennis K. Mumby (Ed.), *Narrative and social control: critical perspectives* (pp.49-76). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Larreau, Annette. 1989. *Home advantage: social class and parental intervention.* Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.

Le, Ngoan. 1993. The case of the Southeast Asian refugees: policy for a community "at risk." in LEAP, *The state of Asian Pacific America: policy issues to the year 2020* (pp. 167-188).

LeCompte, Margaret D., Wendy L. Milroy, and Judith Preissle. 1994. *The handbook of qualitative research in education.* New York: Academic Press.

Leong, Sow-Theng, Tim Wright, and G. William Skinner. 1997. *Migration and ethnicity in Chinese history: Hakkas, Pengmin, and their neighbors.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Li, Wei. 1994. *Three generations, two languages, one family: language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Li, Wei. 1997. *Spatial transformation of an urban ethnic community from Chinatown to Chinese ethnoburb in Los Angeles.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.

Li, Wei. 1999. Building ethnoburbia: the emergence and manifestation of the Chinese ethnoburb in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley. *Journal of Asian American Studies 2* (1).

Lieberson, Stanley. 1981. *Language diversity and language contact.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Lim, Linda Y. C. 1983. Chinese economic activity in Southeast Asia: an introductory review. In L. A. Peter Gosling and Linda Y. C. Lim (Eds.), *The Chinese in Southeast Asia, volume 1: ethnicity and economic activity* (pp. 1-29). Singapore: Maruzen Asia.

Lin, Jan. 1998. *Reconstructing Chinatown: ethnic enclave, global change.* St. Paul, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Liu, William T., Maryanne Lamanna, and Alicia Murata. 1979. *Transition to nowhere: Vietnamese refugees in America*. Nashville, TN: Charter House.

Lo, Adrienne. 1997. Heteroglossia and the construction of Asian American identities. *Issues in Applied Linguistics 8* (1): 47-62.

Lofland, John, and Lyn H. Lofland. 1994. *Analyzing social settings: a guide to qualitative observation and analysis.* New York: Wadsworth.

López, David E. 1982. *Language maintenance and shift in the United States today: the basic patterns and their social implications, volumes 1-4*. Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research.

López, Daniel E. 1996. Language: diversity and assimilation. In Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (Eds.), *Ethnic Los Angeles* (pp. 139-164). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

MacLeod, Jay. 1987. *Ain't no makin' it: leveled aspirations in a low-income neighborhood.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Marshall, Catherine and Gretchen B. Rossman. 1995. *Designing qualitative research (2nd. Ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Marsot, Alain G. 1993. *The Chinese community in Vietnam under the French.* San Francisco: Edwin Mellen Press.

Martin Jones, Marilyn, and Suzanne Romaine. 1986. Semilingualism: a half-baked theory of communicative competence. *Applied Linguistics 7* (1): 26-38.

McCarthy, Cameron, and Warren Crichlow (Eds.). 1993. *Race, identity, and representation in education*. New York: Routledge.

McKay, Sandra Lee. 1993. *Agendas for second language literacy.* Cambridge University Press.

McKay, Sandra Lee, and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (Eds.). 1988. *Language diversity: problem or resource? A social and educational perspective on language minorities in the U.S.* New York: Newbury House.

Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy. 1999. *Authority in language: investigating language standardization (3rd ed.).* London: Routledge.

Milroy, Lesley. 1987a. *Language and social networks.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Milroy, Lesley. 1987b. *Observing and analyzing natural language: a critical account of sociolinguistic method.* New York: Basil Blackwell.

Milroy, Lesley, Suzanne Moffatt, and Li Wei. 1991. Discourse patterns and fieldwork strategies in urban settings: some methodological problems for researchers in bilingual communities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 12* (4): 287-300.

Min, Pyong Gap (Ed.). 1995. *Asian Americans: contemporary trends and issues.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mishler, Elliott G. 1986a. *Research interviewing: context and narrative.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mishler, Elliott G. 1986b. The analysis of interview-narratives. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: the storied nature of human conduct* (pp. 233-255). New York, Praeger.

Mishler, Elliott G. 1991. Representing discourse: the rhetoric of transcription. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1* (4): 255-280.

Mishler, Elliott G. 1995. Models of narrative analysis: a typology. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 5*: 87-123.

Mithchell, Katharyne. 1997. Transnational subjects: constituting the cultural citizen in the era of Pacific Rim Capital. In Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini (Eds.), *Undergrounded empires: the cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism* (pp. 228-258). New York: Routledge.

Moser, Claus A. and G. Kalton. 1971. *Survey methods in social investigation.* London: Heinnemann.

Mumby, Dennis K. (Ed.). 1993. *Narrative and social control: critical perspectives.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Nakanishi, Don T., and Tina Yamano Nishida. 1995. *The Asian American educational experience.* New York: Routledge.

Nee, Victor, and Jimmy Sanders. 1985. The road to parity: determinants of the socio-economic achievement of Asian Americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies 8* (January): 75-83.

Nicholas, Joe. 1988. British language diversity surveys: 1977-1987: a critical examination. *Language and Education 3* (3): 183-208.

Nicholas, Joe. 1994. *Language diversity surveys as agents of change.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Nonini, Donald M. 1997. Shifting identities, positioned imaginaries: transnational traversals and reversals by Malaysian Chinese. In Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini (Eds.), *Undergrounded empires: the cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism* (pp. 203-228). New York: Routledge.

Nonini, Donald M., and Aihwa Ong. 1997. Chinese transnationalism as an alternative modernity. In Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini (Eds.), *Undergrounded empires: the cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism* (pp. 3-33). New York: Routledge.

Ochs, Elinor. 1979. Transcription as theory. In Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics* (pp. 43-72). New York: Academic Press.

Ochs, Elinor. 1993. Constructing social identity: a language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26* (3): 287-306.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1986. Racial formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1980s. New York: Routledge.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1993. On the theoretical concept of race. In Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow (Eds.), *Race, identity, and representation in education* (pp.3-10). New York: Routledge.

Ong, Aihwa, and Donald M. Nonini (Eds.). 1997. *Undergrounded empires: the cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism.* New York: Routledge.

Ong, Aihwa. 1993. On the edge of empires: flexible citizenship among Chinese in the diaspora. *Positions 1* (3): 745-778.

Ong, Aihwa. 1997. Chinese modernities: narratives of nation and capitalism. In Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini (Eds.), *Undergrounded empires: the cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism* (pp. 171-202). New York: Routledge.

Ong, Paul, and Tania Azores. 1994. Asian immigrants in Los Angeles: diversity and divisions. In Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng (Eds.), *The new Asian* *immigration in Los Angeles and global restructuring* (pp. 100-129). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Pan, Lynn. 1994. *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: a history of the Chinese Diaspora.* New York: Kodansha International.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. 1994. *Linguistic minorities in multilingual settings: implications for language policies.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pease-Alvarez, Lucinda. 1993. *Moving in and out of bilingualism: Investigating native language maintenance and shift in Mexican-descent children* (Research Rep. No. 6). Santa Cruz, CA and Washington, DC: National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.

Peters, Heather, Bambi Schieffelin, Lorraine Sexton, and David Feingold. 1983. *Who are the Sino-Vietnamese? Culture, ethnicity, and social categories.* Philadelphia: Institute for the study of Human Issues.

Phillipson, Robert. 1988. Linguicism: structures and ideologies in linguistic imperialism. In Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and James Cummins (eds.), *Minority education* (pp. 339-354). Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Polanyi, Lidya. 1985. *Telling the American story: a structural and cultural analysis of conversational storytelling.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Portes, Alejandro. 1995. Children of immigrants: segmented assimilation and its determinants. In Alejandro Portes (Ed.), *The economic sociology of immigration: essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship* (pp. 248-279). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro (Ed.). 1996. *The new second generation.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro, Robert N. Parker, and José A. Cobas. 1980. Assimilation or consciousness? *Social Forces 59* (September): 200-224.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1996. *Immigrant America: a portrait.* Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro, and Richard Schauffler. 1994. Language and the second generation: yesterday and today. *International Migration Review 28* (4): 640-661.

Potter, Jonathon, and Margaret Wetherell. 1987. *Discourse and social psychology: beyond attitudes and behaviour.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Powney, Janet, and M. Watts.1987. *Interviewing in educational research.* London: Routledge.

Purcell, Victor. 1965. *The Chinese in Southeast Asia (2nd ed.).* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents.* New York: Longman.

Rampton, Ben. 1997. A sociolinguistic perspective on L2 communication strategies. In Gabriele Kasper and Eric Kellerman (Eds.), *Communication strategies: psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 279-303). New York: Longman.

Raybeck, Douglas. 1983. Chinese patterns of adaptation in Southeast Asia. In L. A. Peter Gosling and Linda Y. C. Lim (Eds.), *The Chinese in Southeast Asia, volume 2: identity, culture and politics* (pp. 15-33). Singapore: Maruzen Asia.

Reddy, Maureen. 1979. The conduit metaphor – a case of conflict in our language about language. In Andrew Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 284-324). Cambridge University Press.

Riessman, Catherine Kohler. 1991. Beyond reductionism: narrative genres in divorce accounts. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 1 (1): 41-68.

Riessman, Catherine Kohler. 1993. Narrative analysis. *Qualitative research methods 30.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rockhill, Kathleen. 1993. Gender, language, and the politics of literacy. In B. Street (Ed.), *Crosscultural approaches to literacy.* Cambridge University Press.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Rosenwald, George C., and Richard Ochberg (Eds.), 1992. *Storied lives: the cultural politics of self-understanding.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ross, Jeffrey A. 1979. Language and the mobilization of ethnic identity. In: Howard Giles and Bernard St. Jacques (Eds.), *Language and ethnic relations*. Oxford: Pergamon: 1-13.

Ross, Robert. 1988. *The Indochina tangle: China's Vietnam policy, 1975-1979*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rouse, Roger. 1995. Questions of identity: personhood and collectivity in transnational migration to the United States. *Critique of Anthropology* 15 (1): 351-380.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1989a. Portraits, patterns, and .predictors of the refugee adaptation process. In David W. Haines (Ed.), *Refugees as immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America* (pp. 138-182). Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1989b. The structure of refuge: Southeast Asian refugees in the United States. *International Review of Comparative Public Policy 1* (Winter): 97-129.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1991. The agony of exile: a study of Indochinese refugee adults and children. In Frederick L. Ahearn, Jr. and Jean L. Athey (Eds.), *Refugee children: theory, research, and services (Johns Hopkins series in contemporary medicine and public health)*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1994. The crucible within: ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review 28* (Winter): 748-794.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. 1995. Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian Americans. In Pyong Gap Min (Ed.), *Asian Americans: contemporary trends and issues* (pp. 232-270). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rumbaut, Rubén G., and Kenji Ima. 1988. *The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: a comparative study*. Washington DC: U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Sachdev, Itesh and Richard Bourhis. 1990. Bilinguality and multilinguality. In Howard Giles and W. Peter Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social psychology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons: 293-308.

Saito, Leland T., and Roger Daniels. 1998. *Race and politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles suburb (the Asian American experience).* University of Illinois Press.

Saito, Leland T., and John Horton. 1994. The new Chinese immigration and the rise of Asian American politics in Monterey Park, California. In: Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng (Eds.), *The new Asian immigration in Los Angeles and global restructuring* (pp. 233-263). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Santa Ana, Otto. 1995. In-depth questionnaire for Latinos on language, bilingualism, and bilingual education. UCLA. Handout for Chic 165: Language and Education

SarDesai, D.R. 1992. *Vietnam: the struggle for national identity (2nd ed.).* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn Ann Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity. 1998. *Language ideologies: practice and theory.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Schumann, John H. 1976. Social distance in second language acquisition. *Language Learning, 26,* 135-143.

Schumann, John H. 1978. The acculturation model for second language acquisition. In Rosario C. Gingras (Ed.), *Second language acquisition and foreign language teaching* (pp. 27-50). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics

Schumann, John. 1986. Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 7*: 379-392.

Schutz, Alfred. 1967. *The phenomenology of the social world* (G. Walsh and F. Lehnert, Trans.). New York: Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1932)

Scollon, Ron, and Suzanne W. Scollon. 1981. *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Scollon, Ron, and Suzanne W. Scollon. 1995. *Intercultural communication: a discourse approach.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Seidman, Irving. 1998. *Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences.* New York: Teachers College Presss.

Seliger, Herbert W., & R. M. Vago. 1991. *First language attrition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shuman, Amy. 1986. *Storytelling rights: the uses of oral and written texts by urban adolescents.* Cambridge University Press.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 1994. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. 1984. *Bilingualism or not? The education of minorities.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Sonntag, Selma K., and Jonathon Pool. 1987. Linguistic denial and linguistic self-denial: American ideologies of language. *Language problems & language planning, 11* (1): 46-65.

Sridhar, Kamal K. 1988. Language maintenance and language shift among Asian-Indians: Kannadigas in the New York Area. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 69*: 73-87.

St. Clair, Robert N. 1982. From social history to language attitudes. In: Ellen Bouchard Ryan and Howard Giles (Eds.), *Attitudes toward language variation: social and applied contexts. (The social psychology of language 1)* (pp. 164-174). London: Edward Arnold.

Stauble, Ann-Marie E. 1980. Acculturation and second language acquisition. In Robin C. Scarcella and Stephen D. Krashen (Eds.), *Research in Second Language Acquisition: Selected Papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Acquisition Research Forum* (pp. 43-50). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Street, Brian V. 1984. *Literacy in theory and practice.* Cambridge University Press.

Street, Brian V. 1993. *Crosscultural approaches to literacy.* Cambridge University Press.

Stubbs, Michael. 1983. *Discourse analysis: the sociolinguistic analysis of natural language.* The University of Chicago Press.

Takaki, Ronald. 1989. *Strangers from a different shore.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Taylor, Donald M. 1980. Ethnicity and language: a social psychological perspective. In Howard Giles, W. Peter Robinson, and Philiip M. Smith (Eds.), *Language: social psychological perspectives* (pp. 133-139). New York: Pergamon Press.

Teitelbaum, Michael S. 1980. Right versus right: immigration and refugee policy in the United States. *Foreign Affairs 59*: 21-59.

Thomas, K., and Janet Maybin. 1997. Investigating language practices in a multilingual London community. In Ann Egan-Robertson and David Bloome (Eds.), *Students as researchers of culture and language in their own communities.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Thomas, Wayne P., & Virginia Collier. 1997. *School effectiveness for language minority students.* National Council on Bilingual Education: Resource Collection Series, No. 9, December 1997.

Thompson, Richard. 1979. Ethnicity versus class: an analysis of conflict in a North American Chinese community. *Ethnicity 6*: 306-322.

Thrift, Nigel, and Dean Forbes. 1986. *The price of war: urbanization in Vietnam, 1954-1985.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Tollefson, James W. 1989. *Alien winds: the reeducation of America's Indochinese refugees.* New York: Praeger.

Tollefson, James W. 1991. *Planning language, planning inequality.* New York: Longman.

Tollefson, James W. 1993. Language policy and power: Yugoslavia, the Philippines, and Southeast Asian regugees in the United States. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 103: 73-95.

Tran, Khanh. 1993. *The ethnic Chinese and economic development in Vietnam.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Trueba, Henry T. (Ed.). 1987. *Success or failure?: Learning and the language minority student.* New York: Newbury House.

Trueba, Henry T. 1989. *Raising silent voices: educating linguistic minorities for the 21st century.* New York: Newbury House.

Trueba, Henry T., Li Rong Lilly Cheng, and Kenji Ima. 1993. *Myth or reality: adaptive strategies of Asian Americans in California.* Washington, DC: The Falmer Press.

Tsai, M. K. 1968. *Les Chinois au Sud-Vietnam.* Paris: Biblioteque Nationale.

Tse, Lucy. 1996. Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: the case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-Americans. *Bilingual Research Journal* 20: 485-498.

Tu, Wei-ming. 1991. Cultural China: the periphery as the center. *Daedalus* 120 (2):1-32.

UNESCO. 1982. *Living in two cultures: the sociocultural situation of migrant workers and their families.* Gower: The UNESCO Press.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1980. *Macrostructures: an interdisciplinary study of global structures in discourse, interaction and cognition.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1984. *Prejudice in discourse: an analysis of ethnic prejudice in cognition and conversation.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1993. Stories and racism. In Dennis K. Mumby (Ed.), *Narrative and social control: critical perspectives* (pp. 121-142). Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Veltman, Calvin. 1983. *Language shift in the United States.* Berlin: Mouton.

Waldinger, Roger, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (Eds.). 1996. *Ethnic Los Angeles.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Wallerstein, Immanuel, and Joan Smith. 1991. Households as an institution of the world-economy. In Rae Lesser Blumberg (Ed.), *Gender, family, and economy: the triple overlap* (pp. 225-245). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wang, Gungwu. 1991a. Little dragons on the Confucian periphery. In Wang Gungwu (Ed.), *China and the Overseas Chinese*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Wang, Gungwu. 1991b. Among non-Chinese. *Daedalus* 120 (2):181-206.

Wang, Ling-chi. 1991. Roots and changing identity of the Chinese in the United States. *Daedalus* 120 (2): 181-206.

Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1987. *Languages in competition: dominance, diversity, and decline.* New York: Basil Blackwell.

Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic options: choosing identities in America.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Weinstein-Shr, Gail. 1993. Literacy and social process: a community in transition. In Brian Street (Ed.), *Crosscultural approaches to literacy.* Cambridge University Press.

Weiss, Robert Stuart. 1995. *Learning from strangers: the art and method of qualitative interview studies.* New York: Free Press.

Wetherell, Margaret and Jonathon Potter. 1992. *Mapping the language of racism: discourse and the legitimation of exploitation.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Widdershoven, Guy A. M. 1993. The story of life: hermeneutic perspectives on the relationship between narrative and life history. In Ruthellen Josselson and Amia Leiblish (Eds.), *The narrative study of lives, Vol. 1* (pp. 1–20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Witherell, Carol, and Nel Noddings (Eds.). 1991. *Stories lives tell: narrative and dialogue in education.* New York: Teachers College.

Wolfram, Walt. 1997. Dialect awareness and the study of language. In Ann Egan-Robertson & David Bloome (eds.), *Students as researchers of culture and language in their own communities.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 1985. Language variation and cultural hegemony: toward an integration of sociolinguistic and social theory. *American Ethnologist 12* (4): 738-748.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 1989. *Double talk: bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A., and Bambi Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 55-82.

Wong, Charles Choy. 1989. Monterey Park: a community in transition. In Gail M. Nomura, Russell Endo, Stephen H. Sumida, and Russell Leong, *Frontiers of Asian American studies* (pp. 113-126). Pullman, WA: Washing State University Press.

Wong, Sau-ling Cynthia. 1988. The language situation of Chinese Americans. In Sandra Lee McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong (Eds.), *Language diversity: problem or resource? A social and educational perspective on language minorities in the U.S.* (pp. 193-228). New York: Newbury House.

Wong Fillmore, Lily. 1991. When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly,* 6: 323-346.

Woodside, Alexander B. 1976. *Community and revolution in modern Vietnam.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Yang, Philip Q. 1999. Sojourners or settlers: post-1965 Chinese immigrants. *Journal of Asian American Studies 2* (1).

Young, Morris S. H. 1997. Literacy, legitimacy, and the composing of Asian-American citizenship. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California, Santa Barbara.

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. 1994. *Recording oral history.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yum, June Ock. 1988. Network theory in intercultural communication. In Young Yun Kim and William B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in intercultural communication* (pp. 239-258). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Zhou, Min. 1992. *New York's Chinatown: The socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Zhou, Min and Carl L. Bankston. 1994. Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: the case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review 28* (Winter): 821-845.